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Canadian Radio-television and
Telecommunications Commission

Conseil de la radiodiffusion et des
télécommunications canadiennes

REPORT

Committee of Inquiry into the
National Broadcasting Service
Established by the Canadian Radio-television and
Telecommunications Commission
14 March 1977

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REPORT

Committee of Inquiry into the
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Established by the
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Telecommunications Commission
14 March 1977

Ottawa, 20 July 1977

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LETTERS ESTABLISHING THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

Prime Minister to the Chairman, CRTC, 4 March 1977

Dear Mr. Boyle:

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation is established by Parliament under the provisions of the Broadcasting Act to provide a national broadcasting service, within the context of the broadcasting policy objectives set out in the Act.

Doubts have been expressed as to whether the English and French television networks of the Corporation generally, and in particular their public affairs, information and news programming, are fulfilling the mandate of the Corporation. This merits examination by a body with the expertise available to make as objective a determination as possible concerning them.

Accordingly, I am writing to invite the Commission to establish an inquiry into the matter. Given the profound significance of this situation, I am sure you will agree it would be most important that a report be made available by 1 July. Recognizing the already onerous workload of the Commission and allowing for the particular nature of such an inquiry, you may wish to call on expert advice available from outside the Commission.

On several occasions recently it has been suggested that the Government should, in the context of rapid and ongoing advances in media technology, establish a Royal Commission to consider broader questions relating to the public broadcasting service in general. I would like to take this opportunity to ask you and the Commission to give the Government the benefit of your expert views as to whether the establishment of such a Royal Commission would be timely and opportune.

Prime Minister to the Chairman, CRTC, 8 March 1977

Dear Mr. Boyle:

Questions have been asked as to why in my letter to you of last Friday concerning an inquiry into the CBC English and French networks, radio had been left out.

The reason is simply that in the time available I was in doubt as to whether the Commission could look into both radio and television.

Chairman, CRTC, to the Prime Minister, 9 March 1977

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I wish to inform you that the full Commission has agreed to carry out an inquiry along the lines suggested in your letters of 4 and 8 March, 1977. This agreement has been made public in the attached announcement.

To carry out this effort between now and 1 July places a heavy burden on the Commission but we are heartened by the attitude of co-operation expressed by the President and Board of Directors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

Chairman, CRTC, to the Prime Minister, 23 June 1977

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I regret to inform you that the report of the Committee of Inquiry regarding the CBC will not be available until 20 July. The research staff and Committee have found the work involved to be difficult and time consuming. In addition, the Commission has had a particularly heavy set of hearings in the past number of weeks.

I hope the delay will not cause inconvenience.

Prime Minister to the Chairman, CTRC, 28 June 1977

Dear Mr. Boyle:

I have received your letter of 23 June 1977 informing me that the report of the CRTC Committee of Inquiry regarding the CBC will not be available until 20 July.

Thank you for informing me of this circumstance and I shall anticipate receiving the report on 20 July.



Chairman

Président

OTTAWA, K1A 0N2

July 20, 1977

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

The CRTC forwards to you herewith, the Report of the Committee of Inquiry which was established in response to your invitation of March 4, 1977. The Commission believes that this document and the related research materials contribute to a better understanding of the CBC.

The Commission has full confidence in the findings of the Committee and wishes to stress certain conclusions and actions it proposes to take as the agency responsible for the regulation and supervision of the Canadian broadcasting system.

The CRTC wishes to reaffirm its commitment to the principle of a National Broadcasting Service in Canada. It is abundantly clear, both from the evidence of the 1974 CRTC renewal hearing of CBC licences and from the response to the present inquiry, that the Canadian public wants the CBC and feels a need for it.

The CRTS believes that the CBC has satisfactorily fulfilled certain of its mandatory obligations as the National Broadcasting Service. However, there are at

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The Right Honourable P.E. Trudeau, P.C., M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Prime Minister's Office,
Ottawa, Ontario.
K1A 0A2

least three aspects of the CBC's statutory mandate in which the Report indicates significant deficiencies. By over-centralizing production and programming in Toronto and Montreal and by the orientation of the CBC to events in and around those centres, the CBC has failed to serve "the special needs of geographic regions." By separating the French and English networks into two distinct and isolated services both conceptually and physically, it has failed in its responsibility for "actively contributing to the flow and exchange of cultural and regional information and entertainment." And by its heavy dependence on American television programming and excessive reliance on its own internal resources, it has failed to "provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity." The CBC has thereby, in the Commission's view, failed in its very important responsibility to "contribute to the development of national unity."

In addition, the Report indicates that the CBC has isolated itself from the public and Parliament. If it is to fulfil its mandate it must cultivate greater sensitivity in determining the programming needs of the public. At the same time, the Commission agrees wholeheartedly that the CBC must vigourously protect its independence as a source of public information.

It is unrealistic to suggest, in the face of an increasingly active private sector and the availability of cable television, that the mandate of the CBC can any longer be interpreted as demanding majority audiences on a consistent basis. While it is the dominant source of television and radio programming in hundreds of remote and outlying areas of the country, it must also provide alternate and quality programs in those areas already provided with a full range of commercial programming. It is not the number of people watching such programming but the significance of the programs to those watching that matters.

The failure of the CBC to provide adequate communications among the various groups and regions within Canada is a form of bias. Bias is manifested not only when information is distorted but also when essential information is omitted entirely or in part. Bias in this sense, which runs counter to the principles of democratic debate, is a form of journalistic malpractice that must be corrected by the CBC if it is to enjoy the confidence of the public and Parliament.

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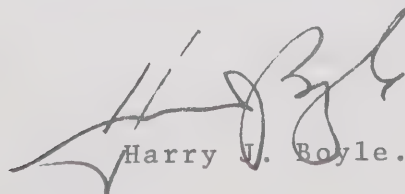
In television, where lighting, camera angles and film and video tape editing can produce subtleties of meaning, there can also be a form of bias which is almost impossible to ascribe and can only be controlled by journalistic integrity and objectivity and a knowledgeable and perceptive management. It is the responsibility of the President and Board of Directors of the CBC to make certain that all employees are fully aware of and willing to abide by the highest journalistic standards.

The CRTC considers the "Touchstone for the CBC" report of June 14, 1977 as an encouraging sign that the CBC recognizes many of its problems in the current situation. Nevertheless, there are certain matters that the report does not adequately deal with. The CRTC proposes to call the CBC to a public hearing in February 1978 to deal with its network licence renewal and other related issues. This hearing will afford the Corporation an opportunity to present its 1978-79 program schedule and to indicate how it proposes to fulfil its mandate in the period ahead.

The speed at which social and technological changes are taking place in this country; the inter-relationships between culture, broadcasting and technology and among governmental agencies charged with responsibility in these areas; and the evolving nature of the national dimension in communication matters all raise problems which call for careful, thorough and coordinated examination.

Because pertinent policy matters affecting parts of the Canadian broadcasting system fall outside the purview of the CRTC, such an examination cannot, in the Commission's view, be satisfactorily undertaken by the CRTC alone. Moreover, it was the view of the Committee and is the view of the Commission that a Royal Commission would be inappropriate and counter-productive at this time. Indeed, the Commission does not recommend any specific form of public inquiry in the present circumstances. The reason for this is not that a review is unnecessary but rather that the Commission does not perceive that the will and the readiness exist to give priority to these problems nor to implement fundamental changes that might emerge from any major public inquiry.

Yours sincerely,

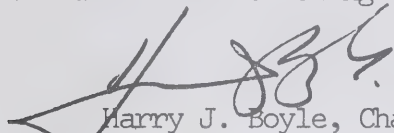


Harry J. Boyle.




COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY
Into the National Broadcasting Service
TO THE
CANADIAN RADIO-TELEVISION
AND
TELECOMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

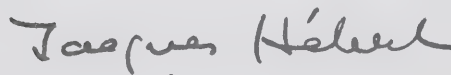
We the undersigned, members of the Committee of Inquiry appointed by you in response to the Prime Minister's request of March 4, 1977, to inquire into the national broadcasting service, have the honour to submit the following Report.

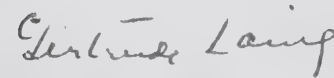

Harry J. Boyle, Chairman


Armand Cormier,


Dr. Northrop Frye,


Alan Z. Golden,


Jacques Hébert,


Gertrude Laing,


Louise Martin-Côté

July 12, 1977.

INTRODUCTION

ORGANIZATION OF THE INQUIRY

On 14 March 1977, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission announced the formation of a committee to inquire into the manner in which the CBC is fulfilling its mandate, particularly with respect to public affairs, news, and information programming, and report to the CRTC. Named to the committee were Harry J. Boyle (Chairman of the CRTC), Chairman; Armand Cormier, Moncton; Northrop Frye, Toronto; Alan Z. Golden, Montréal; Jacques Hébert, Montréal; Gertrude Laing, Calgary; Louise Martin-Côté, Montréal.

The CRTC accepted the constraints of time (less than four months), and decided to proceed by way of a research committee, with a promise of co-operation by the CBC. A heavy public hearing schedule in broadcasting and telecommunications, and the additional request for advice on a Royal Commission, made it impracticable to do otherwise. The Committee did not assume the power of subpoena or hold public hearings.

The CRTC in its original statement of 14 March re-affirmed "three principles which lie at the heart of the Canadian broadcasting tradition and indeed of broadcasting in a free society. The first is the principle of freedom of expression, restricted only by specific legal requirements and prohibitions. Second, professional ethics and competence are paramount. Discrimination by reason of race, national origin, color, religion, sex, or political views has no place in broadcasting. And thirdly, the Commission affirms its commitment to the principle of public broadcasting in Canada."*

The Committee of Inquiry decided that it could not examine in detail how the CBC fulfils all aspects of its mandate. Its primary objective would be to determine what measures are taken by the CBC in its public affairs, news, and information programming to ensure that those requirements of the Act are complied with which deal in particular with questions related to freedom of expression, balance, and high standards, and Canadian unity and identity.

* See below, Appendix One, for the text of the announcement.

The Committee, in a public notice on 14 March and later in an advertisement ("Your opinion, please"),* published in Canadian newspapers, asked Canadians to express their opinions of the CBC's performance in relation to the matters being investigated. An in-depth national survey of opinion was commissioned from a consortium of Canadian survey firms. In-depth interviews were also conducted with a number of people with backgrounds in the media to ascertain their perception of the role of the CBC in relation to the total information flow in Canada.

The CBC felt that discussions below the level of President, Vice-President, heads of English and French services divisions, and directors of news and current affairs would be disruptive, and would constitute an invasion of management prerogatives. The CBC gave written replies to complaints received in letters. They provided sound tapes and video-tapes where possible, and certain internal policy documents.

Therefore, the Committee drew upon commissioned and CRTC research into (1) the historical relationship between the English and French services of the CBC; (2) CBC programming and scheduling practices; (3) the CBC's public statement of objectives presented to the 1974 CRTC licence renewal hearing, in comparison with what has been achieved since then; (4) CBC controversial programming policy; (5) the perceptions gained in discussion with CBC news and public affairs senior executives; (6) the type of social and professional environment in which journalists work. Some examination was made of how the CBC handled complaints from the public.

Five major program analyses were made: (1) the national English and French radio and television newscasts in May 1977 for a ten-day period; (2) the national French television news-scripts and the national English radio news-scripts in January 1977 for a ten-day period; (3) the 6 pm national French and English radio news-scripts over a four-month period from September through December 1976; (4) news content of CBC English and French, CTV, and TVA for

* See below, Appendix One, for the text of the announcement.

a five-day period in May 1977; (5) a number of CBC radio and television programs about which specific complaints were received in letters from the public. The Committee also studied the question of the need for a formal inquiry into broadcasting.

Many references are made throughout the report to "the Act" and the "mandate of the CBC." These derive from Section 3 of the 1968 Broadcasting Act, which is reproduced here for the convenience of readers:

Broadcasting Policy for Canada

3. It is hereby declared that

(a) broadcasting undertakings in Canada make use of radio frequencies that are public property and such undertakings constitute a single system, herein referred to as the Canadian broadcasting system, comprising public and private elements;

(b) the Canadian broadcasting system should be effectively owned and controlled by Canadians so as to safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural, political, social and economic fabric of Canada;

(c) all persons licensed to carry on broadcasting undertakings have a responsibility for programs they broadcast but the right to freedom of expression and the right of persons to receive programs, subject only to generally applicable statutes and regulations, is unquestioned;

(d) the programming provided by the Canadian broadcasting system should be varied and comprehensive and should provide reasonable, balanced opportunity for the expression of differing views on matters of public concern, and the programming provided by each broadcaster should be of high standard, using predominantly Canadian creative and other resources;

(e) all Canadians are entitled to broadcasting service in English and French as public funds become available;

(f) there should be provided, through a corporation established by Parliament for the purpose, a national broadcasting service that is predominantly Canadian in content and character;

(g) the national broadcasting service should

(i) be a balanced service of information, enlightenment and entertainment

for people of different ages, interests and tastes covering the whole range of programming in fair proportion,

- (ii) be extended to all parts of Canada, as public funds become available,
- (iii) be in English and French, serving the special needs of geographic regions, and actively contributing to the flow and exchange of cultural and regional information and entertainment, and
- (iv) contribute to the development of national unity and provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity;

(h) where any conflict arises between the objectives of the national broadcasting service and the interests of the private element of the Canadian broadcasting system, it shall be resolved in the public interest but paramount consideration shall be given to the objectives of the national broadcasting service;

(i) facilities should be provided within the Canadian broadcasting system for educational broadcasting; and

(j) the regulation and supervision of the Canadian broadcasting system should be flexible and readily adaptable to scientific and technical advances; and that the objectives of the broadcasting policy for Canada enunciated in this section can best be achieved by providing for the regulation and supervision of the Canadian broadcasting system by a single independent public authority.

CHAPTER ONE

THE IMMEDIATE SITUATION

1. The CBC in Crisis

The Committee began this inquiry at a time when there appeared to be a good deal of doubt about whether the CBC was fulfilling its mandate. After the Québec election of 15 November 1976, many people in Canada were shocked and angry that events had proceeded so far without their being fully aware of them, and some were inclined to think that separatist bias in CBC French was a contributing factor to the election. Earlier, in the 1974 CRTC hearing on renewal of the CBC's licences, the CRTC had had to take into account many complaints that the CBC was not reflecting the regional issues in the country. Centralized programming was blamed for depriving a great deal of regional talent of the opportunity to appear on national hookups. Although the commercial revenues of the CBC amounted to only one-seventh of the total budget, they were felt to be exercising an inordinate influence on broadcasting on the English TV network and to a lesser extent on the French service. The CBC voluntarily withdrew advertising from its radio networks and children's programming; but the CRTC's recommendation that the CBC withdraw all its commercial revenue and advertising to a more manageable point was resisted by the CBC. The issue was stalemated when it was referred to the cabinet for decision.

In 1977, with its budget approaching half a billion dollars, some MPs felt that the CBC was costing more than it was worth; some held up the American Public Broadcasting System as a better model; some were in favor of selling the CBC outright, or at least of selling the hardware and keeping it only as a limited programming agency. This was counteracted by criticism, mainly in the press, that any inquiry into the CBC could only impinge on its freedom of expression, and there were many dire prophecies about witch-hunts and what would happen if the CRTC or the government attempted to control or run the CBC in partisan interests. It was clear that there was a good deal of confusion about the situation, on the part of the politicians and the press.

2. Why the CBC?

The existence of Canada from the beginning has depended on an east-to-west

lifeline of communication. Confederation itself was made possible only through the building of transcontinental railway. At the time, many sensible men lobbied for a railway through Chicago as the cheapest and best way to get from Montréal to Winnipeg. The sensible men did not prevail, and through "a remarkable combination of private enterprise and of public support and control,"¹ the impossible was achieved, and a railway built across the wilderness of northern Ontario.

With the coming of radio, many Canadians feared that a new form of cultural annexation would result from establishing American radio stations along the border which could broadcast directly into Canada. A Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Aird recommended in 1929 that a national company be founded to own and operate all radio stations in Canada, and that sufficient stations should eventually be established to give adequate coverage to the whole country. "In a country of the vast geographical dimensions of Canada, broadcasting will undoubtedly become a great force in fostering a national spirit and interpreting national citizenship,"² the Commission wrote.

The recommendations of the Commission were incorporated into legislation, first in 1932, when a Canadian Radio Broadcasting Corporation was set up, then in 1936, when the CBC as it now exists was created, and finally in 1968 when the whole broadcasting system was given a heavy and highly responsible mandate by Parliament. It "should safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural, political, social and economic fabric of Canada." Its programming should be "varied and comprehensive," it should provide "reasonable, balanced opportunity for the expression of differing views on matters of public concern" and be of high standard, using predominantly Canadian creative and other resources." In addition, the national broadcasting service should not only "contribute to the development of national unity" and "provide a continuing expression of Canadian identity," but must do so within the context of "a balanced service of information, enlightenment and entertain-

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1. Canada, Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, Report (the Massey Report) (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1951) p. 24.
 2. Canada, Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting, Report (the Aird Report) (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1929), p.6.

ment for people of different ages, interests and tastes."³

The CBC represents one of a series of innovative policies that Canada has developed during the century of Confederation to preserve its identity as a distinctive presence in North America along with its gigantic and friendly neighbor. Nationally subsidized forms of communication and cultural expression, from railways and air lines to the National Film Board and the Canada Council, have been essential to what has been described as the "marginal society" of Canada, in which English Canadians live on the margins of their British political heritage and their American environment, and French Canadians continue a French tradition in a setting of North American industrialism. It has been said that this marginal situation has made Canadians "particularly sensitive to conflicting or ambiguous nuances of thought or feeling,"⁴ a quality which has informed both Canadian culture and Canadian social attitudes.

3. Why the CBC Now?

To a considerable extent this activity has paid off, and has illustrated the truth of John Grierson's powerful aphorism that "identity is not something you analyze; it is something you create in action."⁵ In French Canada writers, scholars, painters, and others in the performing arts have for a long time realized that they had a definite social function in contributing to the articulateness of their culture. English Canada has had a more difficult problem, but even there we have seen in the last two decades an extraordinary growth of cultural activity. The CBC is of central importance here, as it has provided work for, probably, more people than all the other culture organizations in Canada together.

In spite of having been transformed from a rural to an urban country, Canada is in many respects in culturally much the same situation that it was in 1867.

3. Canada, Broadcasting Act, Revised Statutes of Canada, chap. 25, 1967-68 as (amended chap. 1, 1970), p. 3.

4. Neil Compton, "Canada: A Cultural Void," Canadian Dimension 1(8): 8-10

5. John Grierson, in conversation with CRTC staff, 1971.

It may be no longer true that the easiest way to get from Montréal to Winnipeg is through Chicago; but the very efficiency of modern communications had developed a kind of communications overkill, so to speak, that favors certain lines of communications at the expense of others. People living in Toronto or Montréal can get to Tokyo or Moscow with less time and expenditure of energy than they can get to the remoter parts of their own provinces; and the free flow of information also tends to centralize along the communication lines of the big cities. Hence, in the international dissemination of news, Canada, which is not on the main line, achieves a very low profile. But, by the same process, with the dissemination of news within Canada, whatever is not directly connected with the Québec-Montréal-Ottawa-Toronto axis has an even harder time getting properly represented.

This situation reached a crisis with the coming of cable television, which crowded both the CBC and Canadian private broadcasting into a corner to make room for more American programs. Canadians have offered little competition to American movies; they buy four times as many American magazines as Canadian ones; hence it is not surprising that 70 per cent of the time spent by English Canadians before the television set is spent in watching American programs. English Canadians spend 25 per cent of their total viewing time watching programs directly on US border stations, and even when they are watching Canadian stations, 60 per cent of what they see is produced in the United States. In some major Canadian centers, only 20 per cent of viewers' programming choice is Canadian.

In those huge areas of Canada which are sparsely populated, the CBC remains the major source of information and entertainment, and it is also the primary source of information and entertainment for minority English and French language groups in all parts of Canada. Hence it is not realistic to leave broadcasting in Canada wholly to private enterprise, which must attract large audiences and show profits in order to survive.

These are some of the reasons that make it folly even to consider scrapping what we have and starting all over again. There have been suggestions that Canada needs a system similar to the American Public Broadcasting System. The PBS, supported by a mixture of private and public contributions, has emerged on a kind of ad hoc basis as a counterbalance to the overwhelming presence of

commercial stations in the United States, but its future is still uncertain.

The effort needed to keep Canada together is at least as great as it was in 1867, and the communications media have a grave responsibility to keep Canadians fully informed on subjects on which they will have to make fateful decisions. If we did not have the CBC, we should have to invent it. Most important of all, it is abundantly clear, both from the evidence of the 1974 CRTC hearing and from the response to the present inquiry, that the Canadian public wants the CBC and feels a need for it. They have still more confidence in the CBC than in any other instrument of communication in Canada. For those who were present at the 1974 hearing, it was a deeply moving experience to see concerned groups of Canadian citizens appearing and submitting briefs from every corner of Canada, all saying that while they had many criticisms to make of its performance, the CBC was theirs and they were determined to keep it.

From the nation's beginnings, Canadians have given positive affirmation to particular forms of social and political institutions. They expect them to change and adjust to different circumstances. This is all the more true in that Canada is, by its destiny, a country of diversity, with its two official languages, its many ethnic groups, its segregated communities that have constantly to fight to make themselves heard. Hence while the CBC should be accountable to the people of Canada, through Parliament, for what it does, accountability is not the same thing at all as government control. It would be nonsense to impose a single government-controlled structure on the CBC; it would also be nonsense to make it so regional as to prevent it from being what it primarily is, a medium of communication. In the modern world, political and economic developments tend to centralize; cultural developments, on the other hand, tend to be regional, arising in much more sharply delimited areas. To try to annex cultural developments to political and economic centralization leads to the shallow pomposities of totalitarian and imperialistic art; to try to annex political and economic developments to cultural ones leads to a romantic neo-fascism. But radio and television represent both a cultural development and a powerful economic and political force. Private broadcasting tends to fall in with economic developments only; a public broadcasting system is needed which will counteract this.

4. The Need to Adjust

In recent years the CBC has been forced to accept a less dominant position in Canadian electronic communication. In Great Britain, the original licence-supported monopoly of the public system now has to compete with a large private sector. In France the Office de la radiodiffusion française has been reconstituted to provide domestic competing services. Canadians themselves demand that the distribution of American stations should be carried to as many parts of the country as technology permits, and they do not feel that they have become "cultural saboteurs" in consequence. American television programs in Canada are part of the Canadian demand for a shared experience of North American life which includes American films, books, magazines, and sports. This demand has not resulted in a reduction in Canadian cultural activity; quite the contrary. But the CBC appears to find a good deal of difficulty in adjusting to the new situation. The French networks have tended to internalize and become parochial; the English networks, especially television, tend to imitate foreign themes.

In the United States the enormous costs and complexity of television programming in general have dictated the direction in which it has moved. Its mass audience was a lucrative market for advertisers, and the medium came to focus primarily on entertainment, to such an extent that news and information programming became deeply influenced by entertainment values. Those who used to be simply news-readers have become stars; audiences identify with them, and identify them with the news that they present; networks compete for people who are thought to lend credibility and authority to the news.

Entertainment dominates the Canadian scene as well. English Canadian viewers spend 76 per cent of their time watching entertainment programs, the figure for French viewers being 68 per cent. There is, not unnaturally, a marked difference in the proportion of those who watch foreign (mainly American) programs (71 per cent English, 35 per cent French); but nevertheless both parts of the CBC are outdrawn by their major private competitors (CTV, 32 per cent of the total audience as against 22.5 per cent for CBC English; TVA, 56 per cent as against CBC French 40 per cent). Neither language audience in Canada spends much of its viewing time in listening to news and information programs. For

the English audience this proportion has been calculated as 18 per cent of total viewing time, or a daily average of 24 minutes per person. Of these 24 minutes, 14 are devoted to local news and information, the remaining 10 to national coverage. The daily average for news only is 16 minutes (11.5 local, 4.5 national). For the French audience, the figures are similar: 16 per cent, or 21 minutes a day, for news and information, of which 9 are local and 12 national; for news only, 13 minutes, 8 local and 5 national.

In this situation the CBC, the English network particularly, seems to have fallen between its mandate of being an instrument of Canadian public interest, and a more or less deliberate self-imprisonment in the North American television mould of entertainment and commercial sponsorship. To maintain a commercial presence and keep a share of the audience, CBC offers a high percentage of US entertainment programming during prime time. While this strategy may attract audiences, it is doubtful that the mass of the audience remains to watch the Canadian programs that follow the American ones. Audiences with a wider range of stations have become more content-oriented than they used to be, and loyalty to a single station has declined. While 2.9 million people will watch "M*A*S*H" on English CBC, "the fifth estate," which follows it, attracts 1.5 million viewers, many of whom may be entirely new ones, either changing channels or tuning in for that specific offering. Wednesday night programming on English CBC, a significant symbol of what the CBC could become, is placed there mainly because of the impossibility of competing for a mass audience with the NHL hockey game on CTV. With the smaller choice of stations in French Canada, CBC can feature successful entertainment programs and carry a substantial part of its audience on to the next one. But although French CBC can attract prime time viewers with Canadian-made téléromans* and situation comedies, the same pressure of entertainment and commercial values bears heavily on both networks.

One would think that this domination of entertainment would lead the CBC to draw more widely on Canadian sources of entertainment. On the French network there are a number of novelists and playwrights who have adapted their own work

* Téléroman: a continuing weekly dramatic series, usually based on life in Québec.

for television; but although in English Canada many novels of Canadian life sell up to 50,000 copies in paperback, whatever television adaptations are made of their work tend to be completely reshaped from within the CBC. And on the French network, although the number of téléromans and situation comedies has increased, the presentation of dramas by Canadian authors has decreased.

Even in entertainment, therefore, the CBC appears to be out of touch with the real cultural situation in the country. Last season in Toronto more than 30 original Canadian plays were performed, and there is similar vitality in theater all over the country. But so few of these plays are seen on Canadian television because of inflexible scheduling conventions, accompanied by an apparent preference for filmed productions patterned on American formula shows. As a result only five per cent of the dramas and situation comedies on English television are about Canada. The French situation in this regard is considerably better (32 per cent), but its effect is confined to the French Canadian audience. This is because, although some dubbed English Canadian programs are run on the French network, in general the CBC has failed to facilitate true communication and interaction between English- and French-speaking Canadians. This fact is so central to our inquiry that we shall often have to return to it: here we are concerned only to note the factor of commercial compulsion. What is true of verbal programs is also true of music and other forms of non-verbal expression, which obviously should be heavily exploited in any serious effort to overcome the language barrier. Obvious too is the fact that the CBC should draw more on the creative resources available to it in Canada from outside itself.

A statement of current CBC policy, "Touchstone for the CBC," submitted to this inquiry on 9 June 1977 and then released to the public, indicates that the CBC now feels that it should be changing many of its traditional attitudes. It admits to having relied far too much on its own internal resources, as though it were the only provider of cultural influence in Canada. The President of the CBC is to be congratulated for his candor in this statement, and concerned Canadians can take heart from it. But, much as we welcome many of the suggestions in this document, it still seems that the CBC wants to keep on getting bigger and to spend more money, without sufficiently considering in what directions the size and the money are to go.

We recognize the very real financial difficulties that the CBC faces. The burden of costs it must carry to provide physical coverage to all parts of the country limits the money it has for production, and makes the \$60 million advertising revenue excessively important. Then again, there is the fact, emphasized in the CBC policy document itself, that the CBC depends on affiliated private stations for nearly half of its television audience. These stations, which are usually in marginal commercial areas, have a restraining influence on any desire of the CBC to increase public service programs, and distribute only a small percentage of CBC sustaining programs. The CBC's own distribution system in spite of an Accelerated Coverage Plan introduced some years ago, has never been completed. Again, in the present political climate the CBC is under intense pressure to justify its expenditures: this situation is unlikely to change in the near future. In the meantime, however, creative vigor and greater receptiveness to its public are quite as urgently needed.

As its budget, staff, and technology have expanded, the CBC has tended increasingly to settle into a bureaucratic role. Certain anomalies in the setting up of the CBC have made it basically accountable to nobody, and, as a bureaucratic reflex action, it consistently rejects all efforts to make it accountable. This was evident in the CBC's response to this inquiry, in its refusal to permit detailed examination, below the management level, of the way in which practices, policies, and controls are carried out. Parliamentary criticism of the CBC is virtually helpless since Members have only a limited access to information through the cumbersome form of the Parliamentary Committee* (which by its constitution takes a partisan form). Hence the curious paradox of MPs bitterly critical of the CBC who are also urging extension of CBC services in their own constituencies.

The CBC has retreated a long way from its close involvement with its public in the old radio days of the national "Farm Forum" and "Citizen's Forum." Its mono-

*According to the report prepared for the Committee of Inquiry by BIRO Inc., the Parliamentary Committee on Broadcasting. Films and Assistance to the Arts met on the subject of broadcasting an average of five times a year for a total of 12 hours. During the past 10 years the Parliamentary Committee met 51 times for a total of 115 hours.

lithic image is well symbolized in such buildings as the Radio-Canada headquarters in Montréal: a tower of executives and administrators surrounded by a parking lot while the creative workers toil in rows of subterranean studios. Innovation and experiment have been greatly hampered as commercially inspired "failsafe" formulas are introduced. As its budget increases, CBC audiences have declined almost in proportion with the rise in costs, but it has not established new lines of communication with the audience it still has. An attitude of greater openness toward its public should now be its top priority, and the President and the Board of Directors are responsible for instilling such an attitude into everyone connected with the CBC: executives, creative personnel, the secretaries and receptionists who meet the public, those who receive ideas and suggestions, and those who respond to complaints.

The CBC must recognize that it will never win the ratings game, and that it will not consistently have a mass audience in the foreseeable future. Its standard has to be a qualitative one: it is not the number of people watching a program that matters, but the importance of the program, and the cultural situation of the people who are watching it. This is particularly true of children's programs and of news scheduling. The national news bulletins are one of the unifying events of the Canadian day, and they should be scheduled no later than 10 pm local time, when the majority of viewers are still watching, and not put into a peripheral time slot to enable commercial programs to run in prime time. Careful analysis of the specialized audiences shows that there is a hard-core audience for serious programming that will not easily be lured away into more routine programs. Study of the English CBC shows that the network's stations do suffer considerable audience drain with the entry into the market of competition from the private sector and an American commercial channel. However, the loss is only substantial with the two first new entries; later competitors have little impact on the CBC station, affecting much more its earlier rivals.

The CBC attracts deep loyalties as well as deep criticism, and although it seems at present to have alienated many of its formerly loyal supporters, it is clear that Canadians still expect something distinctive from their public network. The recent CBC policy statement emphasizes the importance of quality in CBC

programming: we endorse this emphasis, and would add that the CBC must also learn to trust the Canadian people. Over the past 40 years, the Canadian people have given impressive evidence that they can be trusted.

5. Communication and Community

The immense importance of communication in creating the nation known as Canada is reflected everywhere in Canadian history. At the turn of the century, when Sir Wilfrid Laurier was Prime Minister, the federal government provided financial support for Marconi's wireless experiments at Glace Bay, Nova Scotia. Canada had the first radio broadcasts in the world, was the first country that had radio communication over long distances, and had the first continental microwave communications system. More recently, Canada has achieved major technological breakthroughs in satellite communications, through the Anik series and the Hermes satellite. The personal involvement of Canadians with the broadcast media is among the highest in the world: there are more radios in use than there are people in Canada, and more television sets than there are households. Canadians have pioneered in the development of the documentary film; the most far-ranging of Canadian scholars, Harold Innis, focussed his interests on the theory of communication; Canadian literature, painting, and popular culture all reflect the same preoccupation. A glance at the map of Canada explains this interest: we see the vast size of the country with its difficult terrain, and the uneven population dispersion with most Canadians living in a narrow ribbon of land parallel to the American border.

There are two aspects of communication: the physical communication of bodies and substances, and the articulate communication of words and images. The airplane in the physical sphere, and radio and television in the articulate one, are the technological developments that can finally make sense of the country and cross the immense gaps in communication within it. Television in particular, which surpasses all other media in vividness and power of impact, provides the means for concerned Canadians to get the kind of information they need about their country. Nobody would argue for a publicly owned and subsidized chain of newspapers, but a publicly owned sector of the electronic media is essential for the coherence of Canadian life. In discussing communication, Canadians tend to be preoccupied with what they often regard as the cultural

intrusion of the United States. The question of gaps in communication within the country itself, more especially between English-speaking and French-speaking parts of Canada, tends to be overlooked, although its prior importance should be clear to everyone by now. It is this latter question to which this report mainly addresses itself.

CHAPTER TWO

NEWS, INFORMATION, PUBLIC AFFAIRS

1. Introduction

A considerable body of writing has developed around the question of professional standards in journalism. Communications scholars, broadcasting and press organizations, regulatory agencies, have all devoted attention to such matters as balance between different points of view, impartiality in attitude, and fairness in the choice of information. Professional journalists and broadcasters distinguish between news and other forms of information broadcasting. News is supposed to be free of comment and to be presented as objectively as possible, while other forms of information broadcasting, called "current affairs" in the CBC, include comment, opinion, and even personal commitment. Such programs are intended to stimulate public debate over important issues, and expressions of opinion may provoke such debate better than a detached presentation.

This chapter deals with (A) news and (B) information and public affairs programming. Part A will present a content analysis of CBC news, discussed in the light of the information environment in Canada; the constraints in presenting news programs; and professional standards in news at the CBC. Part B will look at current affairs programming and at the CBC's policy on controversial programs.

A NEWS

2. Content Analysis *

A study prepared by Professor Arthur Siegel for this Committee has made an analysis of the content of newscasts on the CBC. One of the questions examined was the degree of common ground between English and French newscasts. It was found that of 1,785 stories examined, 259 appeared in both French and English, over half of which had an international content. A realistic estimate of common ground in French-English newscasts would be about 15 per cent.

* Based on Arthur Siegel, "A Content Analysis, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation: Similarities and Differences in French and English News," a report prepared for the CRTC Committee of Inquiry, 1977.

The differences in French and English treatments of Canadian content news are striking. The main thrust of French television newscasts is Québec, almost half of the newscast time being devoted to Québec stories. Then again, at least a third of the national Canadian stories have a marked Québec point of view, and much of the news classified as "other Canadian provinces" involves reactions to developments in Québec. The time chosen for analysis was a ten-day period in May 1977, and during that time French television newscasts made 130 specific references to Québec, an average of 13 Québec mentions per newscast.

Excluding Premier Lévesque, Québec ministers were mentioned 153 times in the ten-day period. Of these mentions, 145 were on French newscasts (82 television, 63 radio), and 8 were on English newscasts (6 television, 2 radio). Obviously these ministers are readily identifiable personalities in Québec, whereas in English-speaking Canada they are almost unknown. In English newscasts, federal cabinet ministers are featured less than Québec ministers in French newscasts, and in English newscasts, again, provincial cabinet ministers receive hardly any attention. English newscasts have a low coverage of Québec, considering its importance: about 12 per cent of their content, or 17 per cent in terms of time. On the other hand, English newscasts have more intensive national news coverage out of Ottawa than the French news, with reaction stories from other parts of the country to national news developments. French news has virtually no reaction stories from other regions than Québec.

In an examination of English and French national evening radio news-scripts during the four-month period from September through December of 1976, it was found that only 3 per cent of the CBC French newscasts dealt with any part of Canada other than Québec. The CBC English newscasts devoted 18 per cent of their coverage to part of Canada other than Québec, and 9 per cent to Québec stories, and this at a time when a general election campaign was taking place in that province. The extremities of the country, British Columbia and the Atlantic Provinces, fared worst. In the ten-day May period, these regions rated less than 1 per cent of the French newscast interest and less than 2 per cent of the English one. (There happened by accident to be an unusually large number of stories regarded as interesting from the

Prairies during that period, otherwise the figures might well have been equally low there.) Four Canadian cities, Ottawa, Québec, Montréal, and Toronto, are the sources for 73 per cent of the news disseminated by radio and television. In radio, French-English differences were even stronger; the differences were of the same general type as in television, but a fair estimate of the common ground in radio would be about 12 per cent, and in television, about 18 per cent.

In dealing with international news, French and English newscasts were somewhat more uniform. But English news devotes more than twice the time that French news does to the United States, and French news gives greater emphasis to western Europe. The degree of common ground in international news is about 25 per cent.

SELECTED THEME EMPHASIS, BY LANGUAGE

Theme	Themes of stronger emphasis in English newscasts	Themes of stronger emphasis in French newscasts	Similar French-English emphasis
Political	Native affairs Human rights Armed Forces Municipal news	PQ in union Separatism (Québec) provincial politics (Québec) provincial economy Language -- political International relations	Summit conference War and peace Federal by-elections
Economic/ Environment	Energy Pollution Consumer affairs Disasters Obituaries Sports Entertainment	Labor strikes Labor demands Labor settlements	Inflation Unemployment Prices and wages

Further fragmentation is created by the variety of networks being watched. A three-day analysis of the content of five television networks showed that CBC English, CTV, CBC French, TVA, and Global averaged one story in common, in a newscast that was carried on all five networks on the same night, with about 25 stories per program.

Certain differences in treatment became apparent: French newscasts feature personalities much more than English ones do, for instance. The general conclusion of the analysis is that newscasts play a very limited role in shaping common values and norms, and tend to reinforce differences along linguistic lines. It is not so much what the newscasts contain that creates problems from the point of view of national unity, but rather what they leave out.

3. The Information Environment

The North American news agency field has always been dominated by the American Associated Press (AP), which is a central part of the Canadian Press (CP) foreign wire sent to newspapers and broadcasting outlets in Canada. It reflects the centralizing tendency of news-gathering already mentioned. Canada is a comparatively ignored part of North America; the provinces are a comparatively ignored part of Canada; the outlying areas and districts are a comparatively ignored part of the provinces.

The Canadian Press service provides four main services: (1) an "A wire" in English to all subscribers carrying national and international news; (2) a number of regional wires based on provincial news supplied by member newspapers within three regions and distributed from the major regional cities; (3) a "B wire," which is an overflow service; (4) a French-language service prepared in Montréal and sent to all subscribers in the French language.

The international basis of the "A wire" in English is CP's own foreign bureau reports, and the gathering of information from AP and, to a lesser extent, the British-based Reuters, which is either collected in New York and transmitted to Toronto, or handled directly in Toronto. As far as national news is concerned, there is a preponderance of Ottawa and Toronto datelines, and

other cities, even major ones, are poorly represented. The French-language service shows a preponderance of news from Agence France-Presse (AFP) and, in translation, Reuters. Canadian news is concentrated on Québec, the rest of Canada virtually disappears except for Toronto and Ottawa stories. Within Québec, there is a concentration on Montréal, with very little exchange of news between, say, Sherbrooke and Sept-Îles, and with some areas of the province completely ignored.

To estimate the effects of this unbalanced information flow, a Committee study queried Members of Parliament to learn how news in their regions was reported. It also commissioned six journalists in Vancouver, Calgary, Regina, Peterborough, Québec City, and Moncton to describe the information received there.

The Committee study asked 17 Members of Parliament whether the work they do in Ottawa is adequately reported in their home media. Thirteen said it was not, and commented that the press practically ignores the activities of the ordinary MP. Among the reporters covering Parliament, almost none are oriented toward local or regional stories, and though local weeklies are co-operative, some MPs said that they themselves had to arrange to write columns about their activities, or else buy television advertising time. They felt that news about their ridings was poorly covered by national media, and were disturbed about the stereotyping of attitudes to the regions; for example, Westerners are often described in "rough-neck" stereotypes. Six named independent radio stations as doing the best job of regional coverage, three named newspapers, six named no medium as outstanding, and one named CBC radio and television. Québec federal Members, whose activities go virtually unreported, felt wholly isolated from their constituents through the media.

These feelings are more or less confirmed by the information profiles provided by the six journalists reporting from the regions listed above. They felt that while the CBC does a good job in trying to link the various parts of the country they do not allow for the fact that Canadians tend to view things from a regional perspective, and that the issues that generate most

passion are largely regional and local ones.

4. The Constraints

Although television promised to bring the world into our homes, its limitations and technical constraints were at the beginning enormous. Cable, vans, bulky cameras, connecting lines to the studio, made live coverage of news events impracticable, except for sports and other staged events. Hence television at first had to adopt many practices from radio and cinema, and as the newsreader read bulletins against the background of a rear-screen projection of a photograph to "illustrate" his story, the disparaging term "talking heads" entered the language. Eventually the television newsreel settled into a format of a series of thirty- to sixty-second items, many of them "light" and entertaining, and Canadian broadcasters became locked into using American newsfilms. In 1958, Ampex perfected the videotape recorder, which allowed a direct signal from a studio camera to be recorded and played back instantaneously without any developing or processing. With this, news and information programming could use edited interviews in which the producer could mould the shape of the interview. Immediacy increased with electronic news-gathering, that is, the development of lightweight video cameras and recorders. An electronically controlled machine can even be used to photograph people in the dark. With the help of satellites and microwave networks, television technology can now go almost anywhere that it can gain admission. Yet the formulas of television news remain relatively unchanged, and the evening news bulletin, in particular, remains essentially a visual headline service.

The CBC, which is at the top of the news-gathering pyramid in Canada, distributes programs to the public through 60 television and 130 radio stations. The national news is fed to the stations from the newsrooms in Toronto and Montréal, which service the English and French systems respectively. News of local or regional events must be fed to the network for inclusion in the national news.

The CBC uses wire, video, and audio services. Most common of these is Canadian Press and its subsidiary, Broadcast News, but they also have avail-

able video feeds direct from the newrooms of the American networks. Stations owned and operated by the CBC are obliged to take all national newscasts, but the affiliates may choose, and normally carry only the major newscasts. Regional coverage is provided by the news bureaus and correspondents located in most cities where the CBC owns stations. Foreign stories originate from several points: first, from the CBC's own foreign bureaus in Washington, New York, London, and Paris, or from stringers in the Middle East, Europe, Africa, and Japan; second, from voice and video coverage provided by NBC and CBS; third, from news services (Associated Press, United Press International, American Federated Press, Visnews).

As a television reporter has to be accompanied by a camera crew, the expectation of a big story requires planning and some advance decisions, for example, whether it is worthwhile to rent expensive satellite capacities. The fixed costs allocated to the news department determine the size of the news processing establishment, and the producer's own budget determines how much news he can cover of a special nature. Funds must also be reserved for special events. The CBC reported a cost of \$750,000 to cover the last Conservative Party leadership convention.

Although the news organization is on the job around the clock, putting a specific news bulletin together for the late evening usually begins in the early morning, with the arrival of the assignment editor. He scans the morning newspaper, reads the wire service stories accumulated during the night, and makes the first assignment decisions. He decides whether a story is to be covered by a film crew, and as film has to be shot, processed, and edited, film assignments have to be made early in the day.

The line-up editor works closely throughout the day with the assignment editor. The assignment editor sends out the crews to get the material, and the line-up editor eventually gets to know about each individual item and puts them together. He is the man to whom all the material flows before broadcast--reporters' stories, wire copy, information on film and video documents. He chooses stories, corrects them, has them rewritten and timed. He reorganizes the material in order of priority from first item to last. On the

average there are 15 to 20 or more stories in a 20-minute newscast. The producer or director looks at the visuals, and throughout the day works closely with the line-up editor, the news reader, and the technical crews. The availability of film often determines the tone of the newscast, and the format is a major constraint on what can be done. A newspaper may add pages, but a television news producer cannot, in the present situation at least, add minutes.

A CBC English services document* on evaluation of news programs states that the 11 pm national news, which emerges daily from this complex process, is monitored on air by the director of news and current affairs and the assistant-director, and they discuss the program the next day. There is also a 10 am screening every morning of the previous night's news. At 4 pm a daily editorial meeting is held by the executive producer and the editors and writers of the program, when the editorial, quality, and production values of the previous day's program are discussed. Out of the evaluation process a "feedback memorandum" is sent to every reporter appraising the content of every item. In addition to this, there are long-term evaluations: a weekly meeting of a senior editorial group, and meetings of editors three or four times a year. Detailed statistical analysis of content are also made several times a year in which the news is compared with that of competing networks, and the balance among international, national, and regional stories is checked.

News executives in the CBC expressed to the Committee their feeling that the administration of broadcasting is becoming more and more difficult to control, especially in newscasting. Administrators are remote from the handling of the news: they do not make the line-up, do the research, direct the crews, edit the scripts, or produce the programs. They said it was impossible to control a news operation in a manner that did not respect the complexity of the operation, the fragmenting of functions, the proliferation of jurisdiction, and the competence, judgment, honesty, and maturity of the journalists themselves. The best

* CBC English Services Division, "The News and Current Affairs Evaluation Process," 12 April 1977.

control, they felt, lay in the integrity of the journalist, though the administrators remained responsible for the overall pattern established, the orientation followed, and the use of resources, as well as the evaluation of news.

5. Professional Standards in the CBC

There has been in recent years a growing emphasis on the subjectivity involved in the selection and treatment of news, and many journalists say that they should stop pretending to objectivity altogether. One such journalist from a private network told the Committee that he had ceased to make a distinction between news and comment. The CBC management, on the other hand, reflected to the Committee much the same point of view that was described in a 1971 policy document:

In the Corporation's view, its role in the field of news gathering and news dissemination is not affected in any essential way by the fact that it receives the bulk of its operating funds from the public treasury. Admittedly its position is unlike that of a newspaper publisher in one respect: it has or should have no editorial position on news events or public issues. However, in matters relating to "hard" news, its judgements as to the selection of items, the amount of attention to be given to various items, the order of presentation, etc., should be essentially the same as those which would be exercised by private news or broadcast media. While its status as a publicly-supported agency imposes on it a special obligation to be neutral and impartial in its presentation of news and public issues as well as a special requirement to excel in the depth and quality of its research and reporting, it cannot be considered to have any particular obligation to publicize governmental agencies or activities, arising directly or indirectly out of its receipt of public funds.... The Corporation's personnel in the field of broadcast journalism will be drawn from essentially the same source as personnel employed by private publishers and broadcasters, and should be required to apply no different criteria to the reporting of new events than they would if employed as professional journalists by a responsible privately owned newspaper or broadcaster.

A slight refinement of this doctrine is to be found in a guidance booklet, also written in 1971, and handed to CBC trainee journalists:

The policy which guides the operations of the CBC News Service is based on the primary conception that the service is in the nature of a public trust; to present by radio and television all the significant news of the day's happenings in Canada and abroad, factually, without bias or distortion, without tendentious comment, and in a clear and unambiguous style.

Further, under a section headed "News that might cause international friction":

In a young and growing country like Canada, there are bound to be certain stresses which are, in normal times, an indication of healthy development, and which are not dangerous when counter-balanced by tolerance and understanding. But such incipient antagonisms should always be viewed as having dangerous potentialities. With this in mind, the greatest discretion and good judgement should be used in handling any news item that might exacerbate the feelings of any particular group in this country. The CBC News Service, like the CBC as a whole, has an important function in helping Canadians achieve mutual tolerance and understanding in the interests of national unity. English-speaking vs French-speaking, Gentile vs Jew, native-born vs foreign-born, employee vs employer, East vs West, all these and other potential antagonisms can, if permitted to develop, threaten Canada's future as a nation. It is most important that the presentation of news should not in any way encourage such antagonisms. It is not suggested that anything of real news interest should be suppressed or modified, but it should always be remembered that an injudicious turn of phrase may make a news item unnecessarily offensive to some Canadians.

The Committee makes no comment on this, but emphasizes only that the significance of the news, not its brightness, interest, humor, or other entertainment value should be the CBC's primary concern. We have previously mentioned the importance of the evening news bulletin as a unifying element in Canadian life. This is now given at 11 pm on the English network and at 10:30 pm on the French network, after half the viewers have gone to bed. This is in order to preserve the prime time of 10 pm for entertainment programs, and so guard against a loss of viewers and a decline in ratings. Again, peak viewing hours often have sports feature. European television carries soccer matches live that are scheduled so that the half-time break may be filled with a newscast, and something similar might well be done in Canada.

B. INFORMATION AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

6. Current Affairs Broadcasting

There is a blurred edge between news and comment, but a sharper one between news and current affairs. News, even though supposed to be free of comment or opinion, must be placed within a context that makes it meaningful to the audience. As a news journalist cannot take for granted too much knowledge on the part of his audience, he must explain the background. Such exposition approaches comment, but if it does not lead up directly to the news, news ends and current affairs programming begins. Here the striking of a balance, though not easily achieved, does take place within clearly defined rules, at least

in theory. According to the 1971 policy document, the CBC does not editorialize, but tries to inform and enlighten through exposing diverse points of view. The same policy document, however, goes on to outline a more positive role than that of a mere transmitter of other people's opinions:

The Corporation cannot, of course, be merely a neuter element in contemporary society: It must do more than reflect in passive fashion the elements of change in the world around us. It has a responsibility to help interpret, integrate and rationalize those changes.

As modern industrial society moves towards the post-industrial state, the forces determining public policy undergo significant alteration. Society becomes increasingly rich in human and technological resources. The very weight of these resources, enhanced by the democratization of education, the increase in living standards, and the rising expectations which accompany these developments, tends to acquire an influence and importance of its own in the formulation of public policies. The critical mass of these resources, both human and technological, becomes in itself a powerful factor in the influencing of public policy development, and creates new sources of tension, new expectations and demands, new conflicting interests which are also agents of change in an increasingly pluralist society. It would appear that Canada, and particularly the province of Québec, is experiencing such changes today.... In such a context what is the role of the publicly-supported broadcasting agency, responsible for providing programming in the fields of information and enlightenment? In the Corporation's view its role as a purveyor of information becomes more and more that of a middle-man, an interpreter, a catalyzing agent whose function is to discover and reveal, or to assist in creating at least a minimal consensus on critical questions affecting our national life. It cannot assume a leadership role in the sense of guiding or directing public opinion towards a specific solution which it has determined in advance to be in the public's best interest. Its responsibility is rather to help through its information programming to interpret, integrate and rationalize the changes resulting from the interplay of these dynamic forces within society.

The CBC, then, is a catalyst for change. It goes on, however, to insist that it cannot be expected to and should not try to take a stand "as between the wide range of political opinions under active discussion in Canada today." That includes "anti-centralist, anti-federalist policies" such as those advocated by Québec separatists: "The view which the Corporation takes is that its national unity mandate does not require it to take any particular political position in this vexed area of federal-provincial constitutional relations; nor indeed would it be wise or proper for it to do so."

This characterization of the current political situation in Canada as a more

or less routine federal-provincial constitutional argument certainly suggests an extraordinary coolness in the CBC's attitude. One cannot help wondering, however, whether the coolness is located in the head or in the feet.

7. Controversial Programming

In this area the CRTC, as the regulatory agency, has since 1968 tried to provide guidelines for broadcasters that will combine the maximum possible freedom of expression and liveliness of programming with fairness, balance, and impartiality. In 1969 the CRTC made one of the most detailed analyses ever undertaken of a controversial program when it conducted a hearing into the documentary CBC program "Air of Death," broadcast in November 1967. This hearing posed, for the first time in Canada, major questions arising from the responsibility placed on broadcasters to provide balanced information. The program alleged that a fertilizer plant in Ontario emitted fluoride, allegedly killing cattle, ruining crops, and endangering human lives. The CRTC heard evidence from broadcasters, film-makers, and journalists on the principles which should direct such programs.

The broadcasters held that they had a right to deal with social inequities, injustices, or improprieties editorially: they accepted the obligations of balance and objectivity, but said that "judgments as to the degree of objectivity exercised by the producers may not necessarily be shared by others." Some of them argued that notions of fairness and objectivity had been used as an excuse for non-commitment, a lack of belief, and a lack of feeling and involvement, and they warned against building into an organization a caution that would stifle creativity, enterprise, and courage.

The CRTC Committee, in their report of July 1970, responded with three main opinions:

Concepts of standards and balance laid down in the Broadcasting Act must not be used to curb or limit television's search for ways and means of describing problems of common interest and concern to the public.

The Committee recognizes the concept of "honest bias," as it appears to exist at every point in the making of practically any program on a matter of public concern. This bias should not be malicious, distorting, or taken to the point of propaganda. Such bias should be honestly set forth, and

the public informed that there are other points of view. Even if complete objectivity may not be possible, it does not follow that differences in the degree of objectivity are not important.

Informational programs in television should introduce concern without inducing panic. Practical procedures are needed for the exercise of checks and balances on the part of the responsible officers.

In summary the Committee considers the interests of Canadian broadcasters and the Canadian public to be best served by fair and objective treatment of issues of public concern, by the expression of diverse points of view, and by the assumption on the part of broadcasters that at this stage in the evolution of information programming the public is sufficiently sophisticated to accept and to benefit by the expression of a variety of opinions and to make its own judgment thereupon. The quality of Canadian broadcasting will not be improved by over-regulation or restrictive interpretations of the Broadcasting Act.

8. The Question of Objectivity

Everybody has his own point of view, and is committed to it if he is a serious person. In a totalitarian state the public expression of a point of view may be confined to the two categories of orthodoxy, which is right, and heresy, which is wrong; but in a democracy, the expression of various points of view, including dissenting opinion, is regarded as essential. So far as there is orthodoxy in a democracy, or a general consensus, it takes the form of a belief that open debate and conflict of opinion should go on, and the right to take part in it safeguarded. As Pierre Juneau remarked when he was Chairman of the CRTC, "Broadcasting should serve not to make us all alike, but to celebrate our differences--to reflect the social, cultural, and political diversity of this country, and to allow us to share it among ourselves wherever we come from."

Complete objectivity is not possible, nor is it in the least desirable. It would be a very strange religion which would regard God as objective about evil, nor can there be any human objectivity about, for example, preferring freedom to slavery or a clean to a polluted environment. At the same time, as the "Air of Death" judgment remarked, there are areas where degrees of objectivity are of great importance. A point of view, however sincere, is always limited by a lack of information and a distortion in perspective. That is why news, in particular, is expected to confine itself to providing, so far as is

possible with its human limitations, both the essential information on which opinions have to be based and some indication of what a reasonable perspective or attitude toward it could be. This latter is what is meant by "balance." We have bias whenever anyone attempts to cut off essential information or balance from someone else, and so tries to force the listener's opinions into line with his or her own interests. Such bias, which runs counter to the principles of democratic debate, is a form of journalistic malpractice. The expression of an opinion or point of view is sometimes, as above, called "honest bias," but it is confusing to use the same word in both an approving and pejorative sense.

If this definition of bias seems reasonable, the damning statistics that emerge from Professor Siegel's study, in particular, indicate that the electronic news media in Canada, English as well as French, are biased to the point of subversiveness. They are biased because, so far as they are able, they prevent Canadians from getting enough balanced information about Canada to make informed decisions regarding the country's future. They are biased by their assumptions about what is newsworthy and what their audiences want to hear. These assumptions really amount to two. First, only Canadians living along the St. Lawrence axis, from Québec to Hamilton, belong in the news; all others are some kind of Canadian fauna living in the "boondocks," to be noticed only when they do something picturesque. The second assumption is that English Canadians could not care less about what happens to French Canadians, and vice versa. These assumptions are intolerable. They are also extremely stupid.

The exhaustive analysis of the "Air of Death" program, by the CRTC's Research Branch, cannot be gone into here, but it brought out something that has not been mentioned so far. Television presents images as well as words, and, along with radio, presents words in an oral context. In such communication there is an element which may be called the "raised eyebrow" factor, the influence of gestures and body language, of pauses and emphases in speech, of the mood suggested by a musical background, of the directing or distracting of attention by the choice of visual material. The science of content analysis knows relatively little about this, but it is obviously a powerful element in the transmitting of information, and, if used unscrupulously, can be a very

dangerous form of bias, that is, of cutting off democratic debate by suggesting that broadcaster and viewer are confidentially linked in a common cause. It is dangerous because it is very difficult to pin down. When it is pinned down, it can readily be explained away as a boutade or casual improvisation designed to "lighten" the program, that is, assimilate it to the dominant convention of entertainment.

Television in particular suggests a passive response from the viewer. Most viewers realize that they are being manipulated by commercials and advertising, and build up some resistance accordingly. But it may not occur to them that the same techniques may be used elsewhere. In default of substantial information about the non-verbal devices of television, we have to leave the subject here, with the remark that television-watching by a concerned and mature citizen is not a passive process, but a highly skilled occupation, requiring constant practice, discipline, and vigilance.

CHAPTER THREE

PUBLIC VIEW OF THE CBC

1. Introduction

The Committee felt from the beginning that the Canadian public had to be involved in its inquiry in as many ways as possible. Not only is the CBC a publicly supported organization, and accountable to the public, but there are long-range perspectives to be considered as well as immediate ones. An open dialogue with the Canadian public is essential if the CBC and the public are not to lose touch with one another. As remarked in the previous chapter, reacting to the impact of the news media is not a conditioned reflex, but a definite skill founded on practice. It is not that the public needs to be "educated," but that it needs to become accustomed to having its opinions sought out.

The Committee adopted two sharply contrasting methods of seeking public opinion. One was to commission a national survey to make a scientific sampling of this opinion, and organize its results statistically (see section 2 below). The other was to ask Canadians, through a public notice (see Introduction) to submit in writing their own opinions (see sections 3 and 4 below). The letters received in reply to this public notice also provided an identifiable set of complaints which have been checked against the relevant program tapes (see sections 4 and 5 below). We begin by reporting the results of the national survey.

2. Summary of Survey Results*

With few exceptions, the views of English and French Canadians are very similar in regard to medium credibility, reliability, program mix, support of broadcasting objectives, and performance evaluation. French-speaking Canadians identify more

*All statements included in this section have been validated by CROP Inc., responsible for the national survey. However, attention should be drawn to the fact that these statements are based on about 80 per cent of the total sample of the survey, which total sample will be used in the final report of the study. Very low statistical figures are therefore subject to change in the final tabulation. This survey consisted of one to one-and-a-half hour personal interviews with 2,400 Canadians, conducted 25 May to 22 June 1977. The survey was carried out by a consortium of research companies headed by CROP of Montréal.

with the CBC than English-speaking Canadians do, and they give it perceptibly more praise and confidence than they give the private services. The gap of appreciation between private and public services is narrower in English Canada. About 13 per cent of French-speaking Canadians say that the CBC French network is biased in favor of the Parti Québécois, while an approximately equal group say that it is biased in favor of the federal Liberals. The same observation applies for the private French network (TVA), though at a lower level (6 per cent). English-speaking Canadians feel that the English network favors the federal Liberals more than any other party (11 per cent). Again, the reaction in the private sector (CTV) is on a lower level (6 per cent).

Canadians seem not to be deeply concerned about the effect of broadcasting on Canadian life, and feel that newspapers and television are more pessimistic about Canada than their own perceptions are. However, compared to newspapers, periodicals, and radio, television is the medium contributing most to a set of 17 objectives set out in the questionnaire. Television was ranked ahead of all other media in importance and influence in every category except one: that of reflecting the immediate milieu. And, while of the 41 per cent who had heard or read criticisms of the CBC, more tended to agree with them than to disagree, nevertheless both English and French Canadians, especially the latter, felt it important that a public broadcasting service composed of the two networks should be maintained in Canada. A fairly strong majority of Canadians (70-80 per cent) agree that political parties and other groups are given the opportunity to express themselves through the CBC. A lesser majority (60 per cent) agree that the CBC is contributing to Canadian identity and unity. Those who disagree are mainly English-speaking respondents from Québec and British Columbia.

A substantial portion of Canadians (40 per cent) indicated that there is too much sports on television, and 54 per cent of English-speaking respondents felt the same about soap operas. Both groups would like more educational programs (60 per cent) and more documentaries on Canada (57 per cent). A lower percentage wanted more drama (40 per cent) and more public affairs (36 per cent), but not more news. Nor, according to 46 per cent, are there enough regional productions on either network.

pro-separatist bias (165 on the French network and 43 on the English network), about one quarter were factual, naming dates, programs, personalities, and incidents; the rest used more sweeping terms, such as the CBC was "run by a bunch of separatists." Many spoke of the non-verbal factors mentioned in the previous chapter of this report: smiles, intonations, accents, and the choice of guests for variety and public affairs programs. There were 104 letters that mentioned 160 traceable specific events alleging bias of various kinds or improper journalistic practices. The Committee asked the CBC to supply tapes of all of these, and panels of observers were established to view these programs and decide on the merits of the complaints. This part of the Committee's inquiry is set out later in this chapter.

More specifically, the French network of the CBC was accused of concentrating excessively on Québec events, and giving inadequate coverage to the 20 per cent of French-speaking Canadians who live outside Québec. There was also criticism of the emphasis given to "the Québec nation" in advertisements, news reports, and commentaries; and of what was said to be over-extensive coverage of Parti Québécois activities. Some writers alleged that broadcasts unfavorable to Québec had been eliminated, and that the policies of the federal government were reported with an over-emphasis on the PQ reaction to them. A few writers, on the other hand, accused the CBC of having a consistently pro-federal bias, and spoke of biased reporting of other issues, such as abortion, the Newfoundland seal hunt, and nuclear power.

The letters, like the national survey, indicated that the public wants a news service that is not slanted and is free from political control. Some fear that the present inquiry might result in increasing this control had obviously prompted many letters expressing support for and satisfaction with the CBC news services. We give a number of extracts from the letters here on this and related subjects without further comment.

1. "Something is wrong when an inquiry is launched into the CBC to determine if it is meeting the objectives of the Broadcasting Act when its performance is so obviously superior to that of the private sector which is generally obliged to fulfil the same objectives and which is experiencing abnormally high profits under the CRTC's aegis."

2. "If the CBC is forced by government pressure to take a federalist stand in its news programming, I know the news will be distorted by omission or opportunistically cut interviews."
3. "The CBC should present objective news, and politicians should stay away from attempts at censorship. I would like to see the CRTC drop the whole inquiry unless substantial evidence can be produced. In dropping it I would like them to remark on the fact that false allegations concerning separatist bias were made."
4. "CBC is the sound of calm and reason, of civilization and culture in the jungle of commercial radio in North America."
5. "Thank God there is a network that brings programs of artistic, cultural, general interest and thought-provoking political material.... When it comes to color sense, camera workmanship, production, layout, and direction, CBC has it over all the other networks."
6. "(The CBC is guilty of) convoluted moralizing, biased editorializing, and shallow reporting.... As an instrument of the government, it mirrors the government image, expensive, unwieldy and out-of-touch.... As an instrument of the government it works; as an instrument of the people, the CBC is a failure."
7. "To the extent that there is inadequate interpretation (of events) I would ascribe it to editorial judgment about viewer or listener interest rather than to any particular bias. I assume it is necessary for both networks to present programs of interest to their audience if they wish to retain that audience."
8. "As to deliberate bias in CBC broadcasting, I think that is a total myth. The fact that you had not received any such complaints from the Canadian public until the inquiry was announced surely is testimony in itself."

4. Cultural and Regional Exchange

Letter-writers from all parts of the country are clearly in total agreement with the CBC mandate to contribute to cultural and regional exchange. Here again the voluntary letters confirm the findings of the national survey. Centralizing the CBC in Montréal and Toronto was perceived as a reason for a failure to reflect adequately all parts of the country, and the allegations of pro-separatist bias were seen by many as simply a by-product of that failure. Little if any dissatisfaction was expressed with the extent to which the French network reflects the identity of Québec, but correspondents from other provinces were unhappy about the failure of the English network to reflect the identity of English Canada:

1. (From Vancouver) "In England a trend is being followed which is exactly the

opposite of ours, namely toward decentralization and a really amazing amount of regional and local control, which has turned out to be highly successful in producing good television and radio.... Such a trend would surely be of the greatest benefit to our country, where distances and cultural differences are even greater than in Britain, and it might actually become a unifying factor in contrast to the ever deeper division into separatist hatreds that is likely to be the result of continued overcentralization. We have to make our federalism authentic if it is to survive, and the control of communications by two centers--Toronto and Montréal--is not the best way to achieve that objective."

2. (From Moncton) "I know precious little about my country. And maybe that has a lot more to do with bias than occasional remarks by Radio-Canada announcers. What can I hear, for example, of the music of Québec? I know...that singers, composers, and musicians there have been generating an enormous wealth of material during the last five to ten years. But the CBC radio here spews out the imported top 50.... We have the armed services to defend us from military attack, but what do we have to defend ourselves from cultural attack, which is far more insidious, pervasive, persuasive and (probably) terminal?"

3. (From Vancouver) "Toronto stepped in, apparently on the theory that anything Vancouver does Toronto can do better. Toronto ruined 6 am to 10 am for me, with a lot of yacking in between items, so that one cannot both listen to music and read the morning paper."

4. (From Vancouver) "CBC radio and television is...much less effective than it was ten years ago.... Regional access, at least in the west, has become more limited with each passing year. It is now practically non-existent. Local writers and producers have largely disappeared. Toronto selects, Toronto dictates, Toronto produces, and the talent pool shrinks accordingly. Little in-depth reporting or filming is accepted. National, provincial or regional concerns go largely unexplored. Access by local groups concerned about schools, environment, fisheries, local government, or any other regional problem is severely limited.... Why are there so few TV programs which really explore national concerns? Where is your program on books and authors and poets? When do you explore CIDA and CUSO? Where are your programs on child rearing and mental health? Why do we not have some type of University of the Air?"

5. (From Vancouver) "As a British Columbian...I protest the centralization of CBC production in the Ontario area.... I don't know what the specific mandate of the CBC is officially. I do know that if the CBC was able nationally to give me a sense of nationhood or Canadian identity analogous to the sense of community that local programming gives me, then they would have to be doing their job well.... I should note that I find the technical work of the CBC and the quality of news presentation (particularly in comparison with the print medium) to be of a very high caliber."

6. (From Vancouver) "I hope your report will prepare the public for the need on the part of CBC management to deal decisively with employees who over a period of time abuse their public responsibility. The problem is basically one of management but... I do not think management can deal with it under the present circumstances. It cannot because it has not strong enough support in its present governing structure of personnel, and it has not the instruments for public participation

in public affairs programming which would strengthen management in at least holding in check some of the cult of personality coloring the news."

7. (From Montréal) "The French network in Montréal produces most of its own regional programming, something that is denied to every other region in Canada outside of Toronto (although Toronto separatism is so vicious that it discriminates even against Ontario as a region). Montréal produces not just overwhelmingly Canadian content, but mainly regional and local programs. It is the only part of the whole CBC that follows the original mandate of the Broadcasting Act. Considering that it produces programs for a tiny population of six million, the French network represents a cultural phenomenon and achievement probably unique in the world. If it is to be investigated, it should be done so that other broadcast centers in the rest of Canada can learn about imitating it."

8. (From Glace Bay, Nova Scotia) "For some reasons unknown to me, the American productions always seem to be so good and our own Canadian productions so poor. I guess it must be lack of funds, in which case the government should pull up its socks and spend more money to do a better job."

In short, most criticism of the CBC was directed at its fragmenting of the country as a whole, resulting from over-centralizing the organization and developing a new parochial separatism in those centers. This attitude is summarized by a British Columbia correspondent who accused CBC management of being separatist because of their wilful denial to the regions of an equal voice: "They have sowed alienation, and will reap full-scale separatist movements eventually in every region."

5. Checking Complaints

Of the 104 letters of specific complaint (in which 160 events were mentioned), 50 letters were in French and 54 were in English. By provinces, there were 51 letters from Québec, 27 from Ontario, 13 from British Columbia, five from the Prairie provinces, four from the Maritimes, and four from unidentifiable localities.

Of the 160 events to which these letters referred, 104 events complained about were in French and 56 in English (77 on French television, 27 on French radio, 30 on English television, and 26 on English radio). The table below gives the results of the analysis of the 160 complaints under seven different headings. However, the number of tapes provided in due time by CBC made it possible for the Committee to check only 92 of the 160 complaints. Panels were assigned to evaluate these 92 complaints and 25 were retained as founded on fact.

COMPLAINTS

I. <u>Dimension</u>	Total	French	English
Complaints against			
1. a program	56	34	22
2. a segment	36	19	17
3. an item	57	42	15
4. words	11	9	2
II. <u>Target</u>			
Directed against			
1. the producer	75	44	31
2. the host	29	22	7
3. the writer	22	17	5
4. the reporter	13	9	4
5. a senior executive	8	5	3
6. others	13	7	6
III. <u>Vehicle</u>			
1. audio	103	67	36
2. visual	4	4	0
3. audio and visual	53	33	20
IV. <u>Type</u>			
1. omission	60	40	20
2. commission	100	64	36
V. <u>Theme</u>			
A. political propaganda			
1. tool of the federal government	11	4	7
2. anti-federal government	17	16	1
3. pro-separatist	41	35	6
4. radical tendencies	75	58	17

COMPLAINTS

B. lack of professionalism	Total	French	English
1. information gap	14	12	2
2. distortion	24	11	13
3. distasteful choice of words	8	4	4
4. generalized complaint	7	0	7
C. racism	8	6	2
D. attack on symbols or Canadian institutions	6	5	1
E. lack of representativeness	18	8	10

VI. Performances

Partiality in

1. choice of information	48	33	15
2. treatment of subject	74	41	33
3. choice of words	20	17	3
4. choice of guests	7	4	3
5. undefined	11	9	2

VII. Aspects of the Mandate

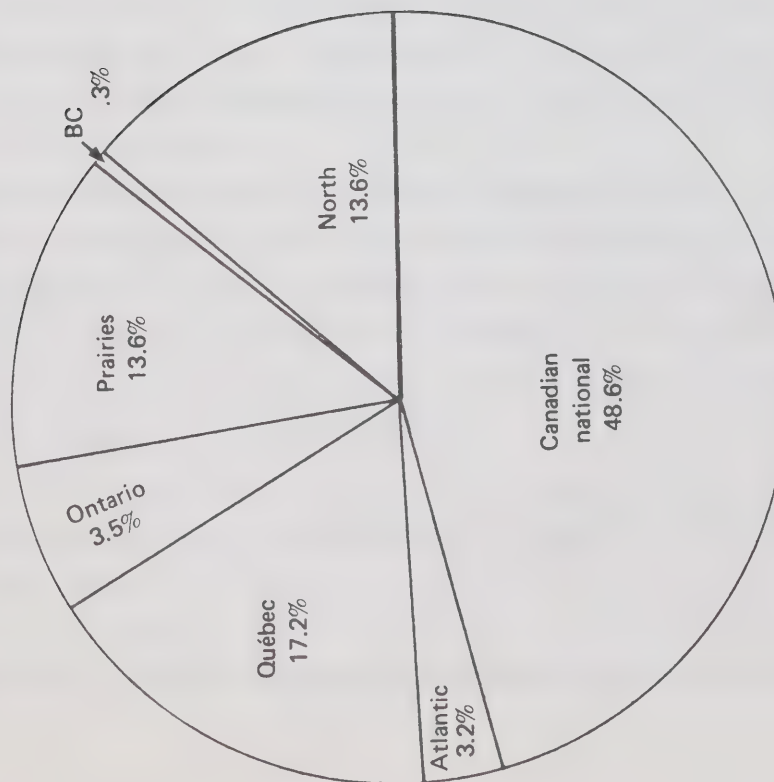
1. quality	52	32	20
2. Canadian unity	45	34	11
3. unbalanced programming	58	35	23
4. reflection of Canadian identity	5	3	2

6. Nine Typical Complaints

1. On the variety show "L'heure de pointe" on CBC French television on 18 February, the host took leave of his viewers, saying, "Ah, the Royal Bank of Canada is moving its head office to Toronto. Well, so much the better, bye-bye, don't come back; we don't want to see you any more" (translation).

TELEVISION

English TV (CBC)



French TV (Radio-Canada)

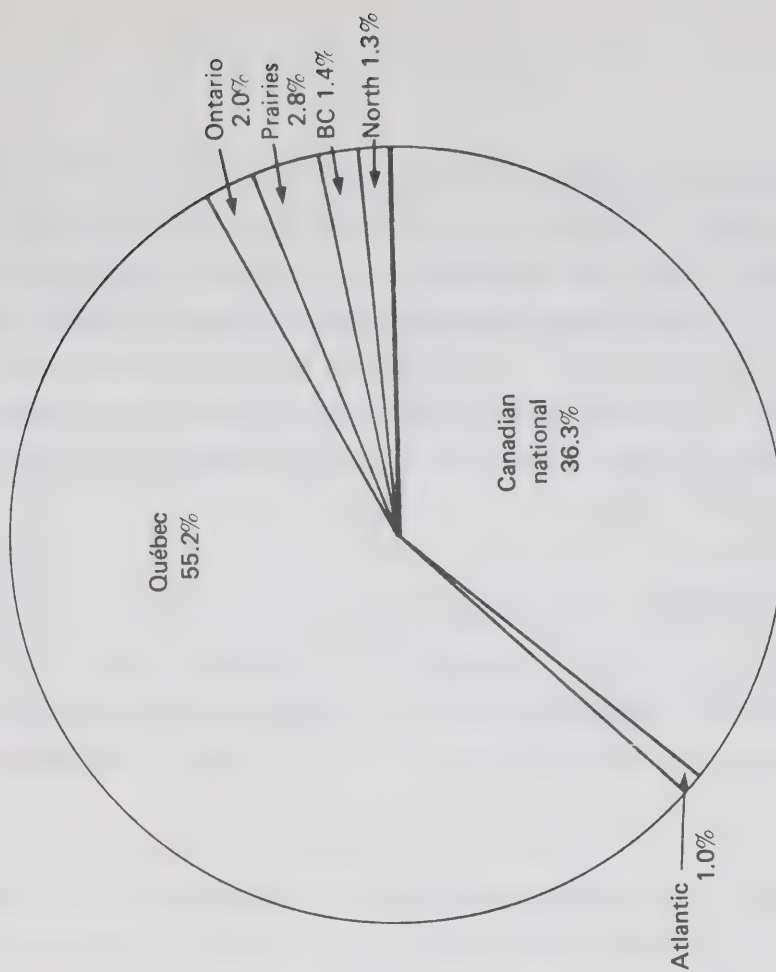


Chart 5: Political classification of Canadian stories — ten days in May 1977 (based on time)

The CBC replied that this was only an improvised remark made in a live variety show, but that the host had been reprimanded. The remark about the Royal Bank was false, since only some employees, not the head office, were being moved. The complainant claimed that the host had added after "bye, bye," the words "to the English" (translation). According to the tape, the words "to the English" were not said. This in any case indicates that the way things are said may sometimes go beyond the meaning of the actual words; the words spoken were offensive.

2. On 10 March, on the CBC radio local news in Montréal, an announcer referred to "the execution of Pierre Laporte." If that word had been used seven years ago, the number of complaints about it would have been greater, because "execution" was the term used by the FLQ. It is still a somewhat inflammatory word.

3. On 20 March, on the program "Cross Country Check-Up" on English CBC radio, there was coverage of the Newfoundland seal hunt. The complainant said: "Talk about bias! The guest expert was the head of a fishermen's union. He was permitted to use about a third of the available time. Several calls were made to a Fisheries Department official and to members of the crews of sealing vessels. It was stated, at the beginning, that the opinion of Mr. Brian Davies, an opponent, would be heard. It never materialized."

The CBC said: "It is standard practice on 'Cross Country Check-Up' to solicit the views of callers in advance. This is done to ensure a fair representation of the opinions of callers. Richard Cashin, the president of the Newfoundland Fishermen's Union, was asked to be the guest as he was a principal to the issue. Brian Davies was to have been on the program, but he had helicopter difficulties and could not be available. A sealing ship was called to hear the view from the ice, and the government scientist was interviewed as an expert on the subject. The calls broadcast represented the opinions expressed on the calls received."

This complaint is a good example of the difficulty of striking a balance in

each individual case. This might not have been considered a situation where a right to reply was required, since Mr. Davies' views had been given extensive airing on many other programs. However, we mention the complaint since no explanation was given for Mr. Davies' absence during the program.

4. On 11 March, a news item on "Téléjournal" on CBC French television featured a reporter speaking from Campbellton, New Brunswick, a town in which 43 per cent of the population is French-speaking. The item concerned a forthcoming visit to Québec by Richard Hatfield, premier of New Brunswick, and the visual background was devoted to demonstrating that the Campbellton telephone book was only in English, that some employees of the post office could not speak French, that there was no French-language cinema, and that the best jobs were filled mostly by anglophones.

The CBC said that the reportage was made by a journalist from the newsroom in Moncton, and it had only indirectly to do with the visit of Mr. Hatfield to Québec. It had been broadcast locally in Moncton and sent to the newsroom in Montréal for possible inclusion in the 10:30 bulletin that evening. The news desk in Montréal decided to give the item a topical peg, and had linked it to the visit of Mr. Hatfield, to illustrate the considerable progress necessary in New Brunswick if French services are to be offered to French-speaking taxpayers. "Campbellton was particularly apt as an illustration, because the fate of francophones there has been in the news several times, and national unity would undoubtedly be better served if bilingualism could be recognized and practised there as elsewhere. The correspondent deplored the negative aspect of his information: he recalled that the francophone minorities outside of Québec were calling themselves the 'inheritors of Lord Durham' and were conducting a campaign about their situation, their needs and their rights about which they could hardly be enthusiastic."

This is a good example of the necessity for placing a news item in its proper context, and avoiding editorializing on the part of the journalist. In itself, the report had a useful comment to make, but linked with Mr. Hatfield's visit, it distorted the latter. It also demonstrates the danger of relying too heavily

on visuals for newscasts. Mr. Hatfield, incidentally, did visit Québec and gave his speech in French, but this was not covered by the CBC French network.

5. A program called "Drilling For Dollars" on "The Rogers Report," CBC English television, on 19 March, brought a complaint from the Ontario Dental Association. "Our first concern is with regard to the program's unwarranted, unnecessary, and unjustified bias that left viewers with no alternative but to believe the dental profession is comprised of nothing short of bandits. But our paramount concern is with what we regard as misrepresentation. Bruce Rogers came to us with a commitment that he intended to produce an objective look at the dental profession today. We expressed concern that the program's focus would be just another scathing attack on a professional body. He assured us that this would not be the case. In fact, it was just that."

We do not have a CBC response to this complaint. But while controversial programming is to be encouraged, as stated in the CRTC's decision on the "Air of Death" quoted earlier, such programming must rely on sufficient evidence to make and substantiate its charges. We felt that this program was irresponsible because too much emphasis was placed on the statement of one participant, and on one side of the argument.

6. A complaint argued that too much time was given to an insignificant news item on "The World at Six," on CBC English radio on 23 March, when M. Léger, the Québec minister of the environment, was interviewed on the subject of his failure to rise for the playing of the national anthem at a hockey game. "It was a non-news item," wrote the complainant, "giving an unimportant and small-minded man a forum--coast to coast--to present his unhappiness with Canada." The CBC claimed that the writer was wrong by "any standard of news values," and that by suggesting such items should be rejected, he was "raising the specter of censorship, rather than news judgement."

This illustrates that minor incidents in a given social context may be seen as news-worthy. Its value as an item of public information, on the other hand, is minimal.

7. On 11 April, during a hockey broadcast on CBC French television, "O Canada" was omitted and a commercial was substituted. The CBC said that they had always broadcast "O Canada" except once or twice. In this case it was a production accident caused by a mistake in timing. Such a thing had happened only twice in 25 years. We cite this because, although it is not an important incident, it has been mentioned many times in the newspapers, and we have a chance to give the CBC's explanation.

8. This complaint concerns the radio program "Sunday Morning" of 27 March. The complaint was that the program had itself attempted to become a participant in a Liberal Party conference that weekend by trying to hold a meeting at which two critics of the Party, Paul Hellyer and Mel Watkins, were to conduct a debate with Liberal delegates. The Liberal Party, after at first agreeing to make a room available, later changed its mind, and the meeting had to be cancelled. "Sunday Morning" then inserted into its account of the convention the two statements that Hellyer and Watkins would have made had the meeting taken place as planned.

"The move was sheer, deliberately planned mischief-making," wrote the complainant. "CBC knew well that none of the leading Liberals would or could possibly leave the conference to indulge in a debate with opposition critics...and... that the delegates who would attend would be no match for Hellyer and Watkins. What did we get? A short excerpt from the Prime Minister's speech, a number of short chats with delegates, a long section on whether or not Turner had given up his bid for the leadership, and a detailed explanation of how the CBC had set up a debate and how the Liberal Party had agreed and then had changed their minds 'afraid the delegates would get creamed.' That, of course, was the whole idea of the ploy. Then came the speeches of Hellyer and Watkins condemning everything the government had done in the past ten years and blaming them for everything."

The CBC response to this was:

"Sunday Morning" approached the Liberal convention organizers and proposed

a program segment which would involve delegates to the convention debating with critics of the party. They agreed and made a room in the hotel available for this purpose. On the eve of the debate, while the equipment was being put in place, the party executive changed its mind and said they did not want to go ahead. Later that evening the executive discussed the matter and reconsidered. We began setting up equipment again. At one in the morning the executive cancelled and withdrew from any co-operation. As was stated at the time, our intention was to have two strong critics of the Liberal Party meet in a structured debate with delegates at the convention. They were to put their criticisms to the delegates at the convention who would have responded.

This response does not appear to question the assumption that the CBC had a right to intervene in a political party conference by becoming a participant itself. It seems to us to have been within the authority of any organization, of whatever politics or function, to reject such a proposal if it wished to do so. Nor does it answer the main thrust of the complaint, that the item was essentially a piece of manufactured news. This is not to say that no spokesman from other parties or hostile critics should have been heard from. But the failure to identify Messrs. Hellyer and Watkins adequately in their political context and the fact that their views were not subjected to discussion or debate from Liberal spokesman of equal stature, made the treatment of the convention essentially a capricious one.

"Sunday Morning" is a lively program in a newsmagazine format in which a great deal of latitude for the expression of opinion is permissible. This particular incident illustrates two points in particular. One is the assimilation of news reporting to an "activist" type of programming which is really a form of show-business routine; the other is the tendency, to be commented on later, of the news media to appoint themselves to a kind of opposition-party role. We are impressed by the tremendous responsibility--comparatively new in the history of mankind--that rests on those who come in contact with an audience of millions of people, and feel that that responsibility rests more heavily on those in the public broadcasting service than on others.

9. The program "Chers nous autres" of 19 March, on the French radio network, is a program in which listeners are invited to send in letters in their possession of general interest dealing with Québec between 1837 and 1970. As is

not unusual in Québec, the request met with a lively response: 12,000 letters were sent in, from which the CBC made a selection that was read on a series of programs. The complainant cited two extracts in particular. One said: "I was in a shop full of English, a bunch of disgusting bums" (translation). The other said: "I voted today (1970) for the PQ. Obviously I lost. It's going to take a long time before my intellectual colleagues at the University of Sherbrooke wake up. They're a gang of blinkered imbeciles" (translation). How, inquired the complainant, did this program fulfill section 3 of the Broadcasting Act, which speaks of safeguarding, enriching, and affirming the political, cultural and social structure, and contributing to the development of national unity?

The CBC entered a long response to this complaint, an English version of which follows:

Each week the letters are presented on a theme--love, death, the family, quarrels with neighbors, and so on. The program of 19 March carried the subtitle: "The good and the bad of living in Québec." Letters from 1937 to 1970 were read, representing all sorts of tendencies and opinions. Here is a résumé of the program:

--1903, a letter by the poet Albert Lozeau on an ideal flag to represent French Canada.

--1967, among other news, the "word" of De Gaulle.

--1837, a priest addresses himself to the authorities to protest his loyalty to institutions.

--1970, 19 October, blame attached to the FLQ for discrediting the cause of the PQ.

--1970, 29 April, the day after the provincial elections, a young man who worked for the PQ and won in Saguenay constituency, writes that he will continue to work for the party.

--1970, October, a woman congratulates Premier Bourassa and assures him of her prayers. M. Bourassa replies and thanks her for having understood the demands of solidarity.

--1968, a correspondent from Bromptonville says that Québec is the only place he can feel at home.

--1968, a correspondent sums up the two options, for Canada and for Québec sovereignty.

--1910, an exchange of injured letters between two bakers, each proclaiming his pride to be French Canadian.

--1970, "you've missed the FLQ, you haven't missed much."

--1944, a soldier in the Chaudière regiment says that French Canadians have less chance of promotion than anglophones. He speaks also of bombardments, and so on.

--1967, 29 November, a student from Sherbrooke has attended a speech by

René Lévesque and written an editorial. It is here that is found the passage complained about on the difficulty of convincing people "bornés comme des morpions (sic)" ("blinkerred imbeciles").

--1846, a Québec merchant claims damages for having had seized six dozen buttered mussels by police officers during the troubles of 1838.

--1967, November, a correspondent from Roxborough speaks of the "word" of General de Gaulle as a gag, taken up by the actor Michel Simon, for example. He adds that the Québécois "are not worth very much" (translation) if they must separate to safeguard their language.

--Finally, a militant (imprisoned or in voluntary exile) recognizes that society defends itself against his actions.

We have not found any passage about a shop full of English bums, and so on.

Our comment is that the great majority of these letters tended to emphasize the disadvantages of confederation and the tensions in Québec between French and English. If the CBC can send us this answer without realizing that the program shows a lack of balance, we have a good illustration of how unconscious the bias can be that sometimes makes its way on to television screens and airwaves.

7. The CBC's Complaints Practices

A study that we conducted of CBC complaint practices, based on an analysis of some of the letters received from the public, documents the statement made earlier in this report about the CBC's withdrawal from contact with the Canadian public.

We received 43 letters referring, sometimes with supporting documentation, to previous communication with the CBC. These 43 letters covered 81 complaints, 58 in English, 23 in French, and were the subject of 55 initial contacts, of which about half went either to elected officials (Members of Parliament or of provincial legislatures) or to the President of the CBC, from all of whose offices they were redirected for reply. These complaints received 122 referrals, but in spite of the high number of people to whom the complaints were referred, eight of the complainants received no reply at all from the CBC, and of the 35 who did receive a reply, only one was satisfied. Many of the other 34 considered the replies sarcastic, evasive, or token gestures.

A review was made of what the CBC has said about the importance it attaches to

public correspondence and inquiries. In its application for renewal of licence in 1974, the French service reported that in the first few months of 1973 it received 2,000 communications from the public. Of 1,100 concerning television, 39 per cent were favorable, 22 per cent unfavorable, and 29 per cent were inquiries for information. More than half of the radio inquiries were requests for information, and only 12 per cent were unfavorable. These results are at variance with those of the 43 who took the trouble to write to the CBC and then to pursue their complaints in letters to the CRTC, for our sample is evidently of determined complainants.

The CBC's recent report said that the Corporation as a whole receives 75,000 letters and almost one million telephone comments every year. Audience research panels of 2,500, rotated to amount to 30,000 in a year, constituted, the report said, "perhaps the most extensive polling of audience opinion about programs by a broadcasting system anywhere in the world."

At the 1974 hearing, the CBC said that these audience panels provide their main regular source of information on audience reaction. Two continuous panel surveys are operated, one each for the English and French networks. Members of the panels are selected on a probability sampling basis, and are systematically rotated so as not to keep members on the panel for too long. They provide daily records of their viewing habits, and indicate their reactions to the programs they have seen. These surveys furnish the CBC with indices of enjoyment, interest in subject matter, etc. Their reliance on this method is considerable, though it is questionable whether it represents a really adequate relationship with the public.

There are three problems in getting in touch with a mass audience: first, mass media are operated by large organizations, which employ a socially distinct group of people whose education, background, and milieu may have little in common with the majority of the potential audience; second, the audience cannot be chosen with much precision by the communicator, and though sometimes fairly well-defined audiences are attracted to particular programs, in general service is provided for a heterogeneous and scattered audience. Third,

there is a limited possibility for feedback. Measurement of audience size is one tool, but it does not provide the answers to many crucial questions. It is apparent that the CBC must actively foster audience participation in programming policies, standards, and decisions. Television and radio can be used to open up many possibilities for programs which deal specifically with the CBC's performance, and involve producers, critics, and audiences.

8. Opinions of Some Professionals

The Committee arranged in-depth interviews with a number of people who had formerly held key positions in CBC news and public affairs as well as persons close to the institution from other vantage points. Some were retired and others were pursuing careers outside the Corporation. All were convinced of the need for a system of public broadcasting in Canada, and while some had experienced career difficulties in the CBC, there was a marked absence of personal bitterness in their opinions.

These interviews stressed the following four points: (1) the past failure, during a period of extreme social, political, and technological change, of CBC management to demonstrate effective leadership; (2) the failure to adjust CBC priorities so as to improve the reflection of the realities of Canada to Canadians; (3) the adoption of defensive attitudes rather than receptive ones toward the public; (4) the intensification of normal rigidities in senior management through failure to use job transfers, sabbaticals, and other practices that would increase the sensitivity of the individuals involved.

It was recognized that the presidency of the CBC is one of the most difficult positions in Canada. The President has to administer an organization with a mandate different from that of any other broadcasting system in the world. He is responsible to 22 million clients, is accountable to Parliament for 90 per cent of his financial resources, and directs more than 11,000 employees on two television networks, two AM radio networks, two FM networks, and an international broadcasting service. Each president inherits the grievances and failures as well as the successes of his predecessors. This inheritance

includes an accumulated bureaucracy of middle management, many of whom, it was said, tend to protect their personal interests by a heavy inertia, in contrast to the more competitive structures in American radio and television.

Other points, some of them already made in this report, were:

1. The over-centralization of the CBC has created an Ottawa-based hierarchy attached primarily to the President in Ottawa and the two headquarters in Toronto and Montréal. Priorities tend to become established by the power bases of these units. The Montréal-based French service adjusts itself to the cultural and provincial boundaries of Québec, but, even more, to the activities of the Montréal area.
2. The Toronto headquarters responds to the activity of Toronto, but it, too, appears to play down the national dimensions of the mandate in favor of a competitive spirit toward the private sector and the acceptance of the standards of American commercial broadcasting. Those interviewed felt that this does not appear to have happened in radio, where certain traditional concepts of public service remain, although even there we heard complaints that the radio service tends to neglect regional influences.
3. These attitudes fail to satisfy smaller and more specialized audiences, and while many excellent programs are provided, they are apt to get lost in the predominance of a programming cast in the mould of popular North American stereotypes. An example given was the broadcasting by satellite of regular southern programs to the native peoples of the North, without any regard for the culture shock that such programs carried with them.
4. The image of a defensive CBC, however mitigated by the 15 June 1977 statement of the President, still remains with the public, according to these interviews. Then again, rigidities in senior management are caused by certain features of career broadcasting. Administration personnel tend to advance to senior positions where they become locked in. What creative capacity they have had in the past they tend to lose as their administrative work removes

them from the creative community.

Many of the perceptions of the public and others described in this chapter will be commented upon in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

CULTURAL APARTHEID

1. Identity, Diversity, Unity

Canada is divided geographically, linguistically, regionally, into many different worlds. Its different regions are much more isolated by nature from one another than is true in the United States, and Canadian history, from the Québec Act in the eighteenth century to the federal-provincial conferences of today, has been a series of compromises. A country founded on a revolutionary tradition and with a single language, like the United States, can do a good deal to homogenize its people and inculcate similar attitudes among them. Such homogenizing tendencies exist in Canadian life too, at both provincial and federal levels, but have never got beyond a certain point. Hence the CBC's mandate to contribute the unity and identity of Canada is a complex and subtle one to fulfil, and two points about it may be noted.

First, unity is not uniformity, in fact it is the opposite of uniformity. Unity means, for Canada, a society of people of the most diverse views and attitudes and backgrounds, who nevertheless understand that they are linked together with a common cause and common experiences. Uniformity is the false unity of likeness, the attempt to make everybody reflect similar attitudes and views. The natural underlying drive in the communications media is toward uniformity, and practically everything that comes out on top in the ratings is based on a principle of uniformity. A mandate for unity is also a mandate to avoid this tendency and do something better and more distinctive.

Second, identity, in Canada at any rate, has at least as much to do with diversity as with unity, and has nothing at all to do with uniformity. One feels identity most vividly with a delimited area: with, say, the immense mountains and trees of the Pacific coast, the grain-carpet of the prairies, the pastoral quiet of rural southern Ontario, the gentle pays landscape of the lower St. Lawrence, the blue rivers and autumn splendors of the Atlantic provinces. Such variety, for anything connected with culture, is a primary resource to be exploited. Hence the strong emphasis, at the 1974 hearing, on the desire of Canadians from every part of the country to have their regions

reflected to the rest of Canada in network broadcasting.

An examination of 1976-77 television schedules shows us how the regions fare on the CBC English network:

Newfoundland. In the second half of the 1976-77 season Newfoundland contributed "Ryan's Fancy," a series of filmed music shows shot in the Atlantic provinces and assembled in St. John's. Occasional contributions have been made to such continuing network shows as "This Land" and "Take 30." "Howie Meeker" and his hockey series originated from Newfoundland for its four seasons. During the summer months Newfoundland contributes a mini-series of variety to the network, including shows like "All Around the Circle."

Nova Scotia. One major network music series each fall season originated from Halifax. For the past two seasons it has been "Ceilidh," a Celtic music show which succeeded "Singalong Jubilee" and "Take Time." There are summer mini-series out of Halifax as well as contributions to "This Land" and "Take 30."

Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick. No substantial network presence except for an occasional contribution to summer portions of "Take 30" and one or two episodes of "This Land."

Québec. Contributes on an "available" basis the "LaPierre" interview show, and "Mr. Chips," a handyman's series (produced actually by the CTV affiliate, CFCF's Champlain Productions). Only the former reflects the region in any way. "Mon ami," the CBC's replacement for the long-running "Chez Hélène" series, ended with the death of its star, Albert Chenier. "Nic et Pic," another children's program, is produced by CBC French in both French and English.

Ontario. Practically all network series are produced and come out of Toronto. Ottawa contributes regular political programming in Patrick Watson's interviews and Cameron Graham's documentary mini-series. One children's series, "Hi Diddle Day," is also produced in Ottawa. There is next to nothing dealing with the province itself or its regions, and Toronto's only regional contribution is the June Callwood morning interview show.

Manitoba. The stand-by production from Winnipeg is "Hymn Sing," and the majority of Canadianized segments for "Sesame Street" were done in that city. A second regular music series, "The Dianne Stapley Show," lasted two seasons after being developed over several summers.

Saskatchewan. Practically unknown on the network, except for the occasional report appearing in "Country Canada."

Alberta. The region was represented on the full network this past season by "Ruzika," a music show featuring a local singer-dentist, a series that replaced the filmed music series "Stompin' Tom Connors." Edmonton contributes to the summer "Take 30" series, and for the last few years has had a number of summer mini-series as well.

British Columbia. This province contributed some significant regular-season television to the network in the form of the indigenous drama series, "The Beachcombers." Other efforts have included "It's a Musical World," featuring Tommy Commons, and several other mini-series music shows during the summer months. "The Wolfman Jack Show" originated out of Vancouver, chiefly as an attempt to fill the newly completed facilities and take pressure off the Toronto plant. "Celebrity Chefs," a day-time cooking series, independently produced and featuring Bruno Gerussi, moved from Ottawa to Vancouver this season. Summer contributions to "Take 30" and the afternoon talk show featuring host Bob Switzer are annual occurrences. "Ninety Minutes Live" originated from almost all regions in its first season and is expected to do so again this coming year. A number of children's shows like "Crosspoint" and "Magic Life" were shot around the country. For two seasons the network also tried a weekly serial, "House of Pride," with subplots occurring in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Halifax, Montréal, and Toronto, but the logistics and lack of frequency made this a difficult procedure.

Summary: the regions of English Canada, from sea to sea, exist chiefly during the summer vacation.

French network. Of the eight owned-and-operated stations outside Montréal, three do not contribute to the network and five do either regularly or occasionally. Québec City occasionally produces a program that reflects its particular region but apart from that, regional reflection for the most part is confined to Ottawa, Toronto, and Moncton contributions to the summer program "Réseau-Soleil." The other regular and occasional contributions from the five stations are "Politique provinciale" for Québec-based stations and

"Affaires de l'Etat" for Ottawa. Other contributions are to "Génie en herbe" and "Femme d'aujourd'hui." For Québec City there was in 1976-77 a series "En mouvement." Also a regular contribution from Québec's capital is the "Défilé de nuit du Carnaval d'hiver" and occasional contributions to "Récital" and "Second regard." Some of the stations also contribute to "Jour du Seigneur."

The reflections that each network makes of the other culture and language are rare. CBC French uses four productions from CTV Vancouver, OECA, and an independent English-Canadian producer, in dubbed versions. Otherwise, apart from newscasts, only two programs, "Le 60" and "Le pour et le contre" occasionally reflect the other side of Canada. On the English network, the 15 November election spurred interest in Québec, and such programs as "The Watson Report," "the fifth estate," "Ninety Minutes Live" and "LaPierre" on occasion reflect the province or regions to Canadians elsewhere. "An Uncertain Country," a joint English-French production in both languages, is a recent innovation.

The private networks, which are outside this Committee's mandate, make no greater effort. The French TVA and the English CTV have only spasmodic reflections of the other language group, and CTV has turned down several offered programs on Québec on the grounds that audiences in other parts of Canada are "not interested."

2. Two Solitudes

Each network's lack of interest in the other part of Canada is reinforced by differences in outlook, spirit, and working methods between French- and English-speaking journalists. It is reinforced, even more, by a structural organization in the CBC which a well known and respected CBC personality has trenchantly described as a "working model of how the country will fail." From the very beginning, with the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission of 1932, the English and French sections each had their director of programs, one in Toronto, the other in Montréal. Both were responsible to the commissioner of broadcasting in Ottawa. With the formation of the CBC in 1936, the networks were in practice separate. Later on, one very influential document, the Fowler Commission Report (1957), even went further recognizing the validity of separate language services. In 1953 Alphonse Ouimet, as Director-general, centralized the leadership of the two divisions in Ottawa, in spite of protests from both Toronto and

Montréal. With the explosion of television in the 1950s, and the number of CBC employees growing from 1,200 in 1952 to 11,000 in 1969, under the presidency of George Davidson, the de facto separation between the two networks was made formal. Today, liaison between the two networks is largely limited to the management level, known as the committee of six, which includes the President and executive Vice-President.

The employee level of relations between French and English grew less intimate as the Corporation grew in size. In 1959 there was a prolonged producers' strike in Montréal, with the French-speaking producers claiming recognition of their union. After four months of resistance, the Corporation gave in on the point of principle, but those four months were fateful in the history of the CBC, in the history of Canada.

Although our researchers were not allowed to talk to the CBC employees below the management level about the difficulties of co-operation between the two language groups, we have been able to put together an account of some of the major problems:

1. The problem of language itself: Until recently there have been few English-speaking people in the CBC (as elsewhere) who could speak French. The language of work, therefore, has tended always to be English in a bilingual group, with the French speakers compelled to adjust.
2. In news and public affairs programming, again, the lack of public figures able to speak French imposes itself on the program. Carrying events that occur in English and giving them the time their importance deserves often means long stretches of halting translation for the viewers.
3. As there is a general belief that audiences are indifferent to offerings from the other language group, producers are not enthusiastic about spending time on productions of what they regard as of minimal interest. Here again the CBC has undertaken to try harder to stimulate co-productions in several fields.
4. The line of authority in Corporation productions is divided on language lines all the way to the top. Producers, technicians, script-assistants, all report to their superiors in their own language, with very limited access to the corresponding people in the other language.

5. English-speaking producers capable of supervising co-productions are hard to find, and so are people who can work successfully in a bilingual team. They will remain hard to find unless there is a concerted attempt made to develop this type of co-operation.

For these and many other reasons attempts at large-scale co-productions have failed, been abandoned, or have been only moderately successful:

1. A 1965 proposal to create a national news service to be situated in Ottawa, though at first greeted with enthusiasm, posed so many problems that it was abandoned.

2. In 1967 a French and English team worked on a co-production, "The Tenth Decade," but could not agree on the treatment to be given to the "Quiet Revolution" in Québec. The project eventually was made in English, with only a two-hour French version produced.

3. There are continuing programs defined by CBC management as Shared Program Experiences, on which the two groups co-operate. They include elections, conventions, political debates, special events like Expo, royal visits, investitures of the Governor-General, openings of Parliament, the Olympic Games, and such things as the Stanley Cup finals, the Grey Cup match, and the World Series. These were, in discussion, put forward by the CBC as proof of a fulfilment of the mandate to contribute to national unity, since they occur in the normal course of the programming year, are not unnaturally forced on either side, and involve mainly the sharing of image facilities, not the commentary or make-up of the program.

4. In news and current affairs, there has been a failure to pool talent, equipment, and effort. Foreign correspondents of the two networks operate separately. In the 1960s both networks were represented by the same correspondent in Moscow, Bernard Levy, but this unique experiment was never repeated. During the war, on the other hand, Marcel Ouimet of the French service in London filed 200 reports to the English service. And in public affairs there was a special program on the events of 1970, documented by a team of researchers from both groups, with a French network director and an English network producer.

An interesting point is that many of the difficulties outlined do not seem to prevent collaboration between members of the two groups outside CBC. These

usually occur between freelance workers, whose livelihood depends on the success of the production.

It has long been recognized also that there are significant differences between French- and English-speaking journalists in Canada in their attitudes toward their work. Two studies were made in 1966 for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism covering the attitudes of 225 senior journalists in 22 English and 11 French newspapers. They found that a large majority of the English journalists had either minimal or no knowledge of French culture, while an equally large majority of the French had either a minimal or good knowledge of English culture. Those who regarded straight reporting as the primary function of a journalist formed a majority of the English but a minority of the French; those who felt that their main job was to interpret or editorialize on the news were approximately one-third of the French but less than 10 per cent of the English. Those who agreed with the statement that a newspaper is "an observer or conscience of government" represented less than a quarter of the English journalists but less than five per cent of the French.

Obviously such differences affect the versions of events that such journalists present to their respective publics. A study of how the English and French newspapers in Canada reported the October 1970 crisis showed that while the main theme in the French-language press was negotiation, in the English press it was manhunt. Far more opposition to the authorities was reported in the French than in the English press, and French treatments emphasized personalities and included much more in the way of background and intellectual comment than English treatments did, which tended to emphasize the role of institutions and to regard the crisis as a matter of police rather than political reporting.

In its response to this inquiry, the public has clearly recognized and accepted the fact that the expression of diversity is an essential part of the mandate of unity. The mandate of unity can only be fulfilled by giving Canadians a sense of their identity, regional as well as national and in their varying kinds of history, ethnic make-up, and cultural tradition, and by trying to get rid of the stereotypes that are produced from ignorance. The CBC has an obligation, which it recognizes, to entertain and inform Canadians through emphasizing

Canadian subject-matter. The mandate of unity has nothing to do with managing or distorting news, or inserting pro-federalist editorializings into the news. It is a very old principle that example is better than precept, and CBC television will do most for the unity of the country, not by editorially supporting federalism, but by regaining the presence in Canadian life that CBC radio had a generation ago, and to a considerable extent still has.

It is also possible to make too great a virtue of detachment. To think of the current political situation in Canada as just one more federal-provincial argument will not do, and will be widely misinterpreted if it is held. The sheer force of its appearance on CBC radio and television gives a news item some credence in itself, and, if the item is a mere expression of spite or of an insignificant minority view, no responsible broadcasting unit should be satisfied with an objectivity that isolates it and exaggerates its importance by doing so. The news media tend to compete for items of immediate concern, but an organization devoted to the public interest needs to see all such items in the perspective of long-range developments. For most Canadians, the PQ stand on the independence of Québec is a crisis, and crisis demands a response which is neither alarmist nor propagandist, but employs the greatest vigor and energy in assisting citizens to gain fuller knowledge of it.

In the sense described above, the CBC has a positive obligation to contribute to the development of national unity and provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity. This is the direct obligation of management, which through appropriate controls must assure that it is adhered to by all personnel.

3. One Community

The Committee wishes to call attention particularly, as the most important single feature of its report, to the extraordinary situation revealed by comparing Professor Siegel's study of the media with the national survey of the public response. As presented by the media, Canada is in a state of deep schizophrenia: if English and French Canada were on different planets there could hardly be a greater contrast of views and information. All the media, as we saw, are equally delinquent in this regard, but only the CBC has a mandate to work in the opposite direction. Meanwhile, the national survey indicates

that the Canadian public's interest, attitudes, and sense of priorities about the news are much the same whether they speak English or French, or live near the Atlantic or the Pacific.

This fact may give us pause in trying to assess the relation of communications media to Canadian life. Those who work in these media feel, rightly, that they have heavy social responsibilities, and they tend to regard themselves as forming a much more effective form of opposition to a government than any political party with the second largest vote can ever exert. They feel that they are the real source of informed criticism, the only means through which major scandals like Watergate can reach the public, the only means of arousing the public to a sense of concern. As an opposition, they feel privileged, and, like all institutions, they tend to identify the welfare of society with the preserving of their privileges. A democracy based on open debate cannot reject such a role, however self-appointed, much less try to curtail or suppress it. Still, it is a political role, and the vast majority of politicians find sooner or later that they are following public opinion much more than they are leading or guiding it.

In times of crisis, confusion, and anger it is natural to look round for a source of the unpleasantness, to identify the cause and eradicate it. But a cause of social disturbance, when located, often turns out to be only one more effect of it. Communications media are often regarded as causes, or at least contributory causes, of a great variety of social ills, including violence. This is partly because it is difficult, even for liberal and democratic people, to get rid of the notion that the public is still a mob like the one harangued by Mark Antony in Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, responding automatically and helplessly to certain stimuli. Perhaps both the communications media and those who are frightened by them may exaggerate their importance as instruments of social change. In a paper forming an appendix to the report of the national survey submitted to this Committee, Thelma McCormack puts the matter very concisely: "A more careful examination would reveal that the partisanship of the media lies primarily in their sins of omission, and that when they do move from their baseline the social change is a fait accompli, although the illusion that the game is still being played and the final score not known remains. Any

genuine partisanship that may be instrumental to social change lies outside of the media bureaucracies."

We have been trying to list some of the "sins of omission" which have come to our attention, on the assumption that the more a medium omits, the less socially effective it becomes. The source for a better perspective is to be found in its public, which is seldom consulted except in terms of uniformity and mass response. Certainly there is much desire for uniformity in our society, and powerful mass movements based on that desire. But mass movements are not the only social phenomena, nor are they in the long run the decisive ones. The decisive ones, we feel, are those that lead to the state prophesied by Tennyson, when "the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe."

CHAPTER FIVE
THE NEED FOR FURTHER INQUIRY

1. Accountability of the CBC to Parliament

The Right Honourable P.E. Trudeau, in a letter dated 4 March 1977 to the Chairman of the CRTC which set out a part of this Committee's mandate, said: "On several occasions recently it has been suggested that the Government should, in the context of rapid and ongoing advances in the media technology, establish a Royal Commission to consider broader questions relating to the public broadcasting service in general. I would like to take this opportunity to ask you and the Commission to give the Government the benefit of your expert views as to whether the establishment of such a Royal Commission would be timely and opportune."*

Consideration of this question has to begin with prior issue of the accountability of the CBC both to Parliament and to the Canadian public. There is a feeling among Members of Parliament that the CBC is not properly accountable to Parliament, and that although it is right in defending its own freedom of expression and information, the CBC also tends to obscure some details of its policy and operation which MPs need to understand if they are to discharge their duties properly in regard to it.

A study commissioned by this Committee examined the way in which the Parliamentary Committee on Broadcasting, Film and Assistance to the Arts has operated during the period from 1967 to 1976. The study found that the Parliamentary Committee was hampered by two things in particular: The amount of time its members had available to study broadcasting in depth each year, and the lack of specialized staff to assist with research. In consequence the Parliamentary Committee has tended to confine itself to rather superficial questioning, based mainly on complaints from constituents and a general reaction to the budget estimates.

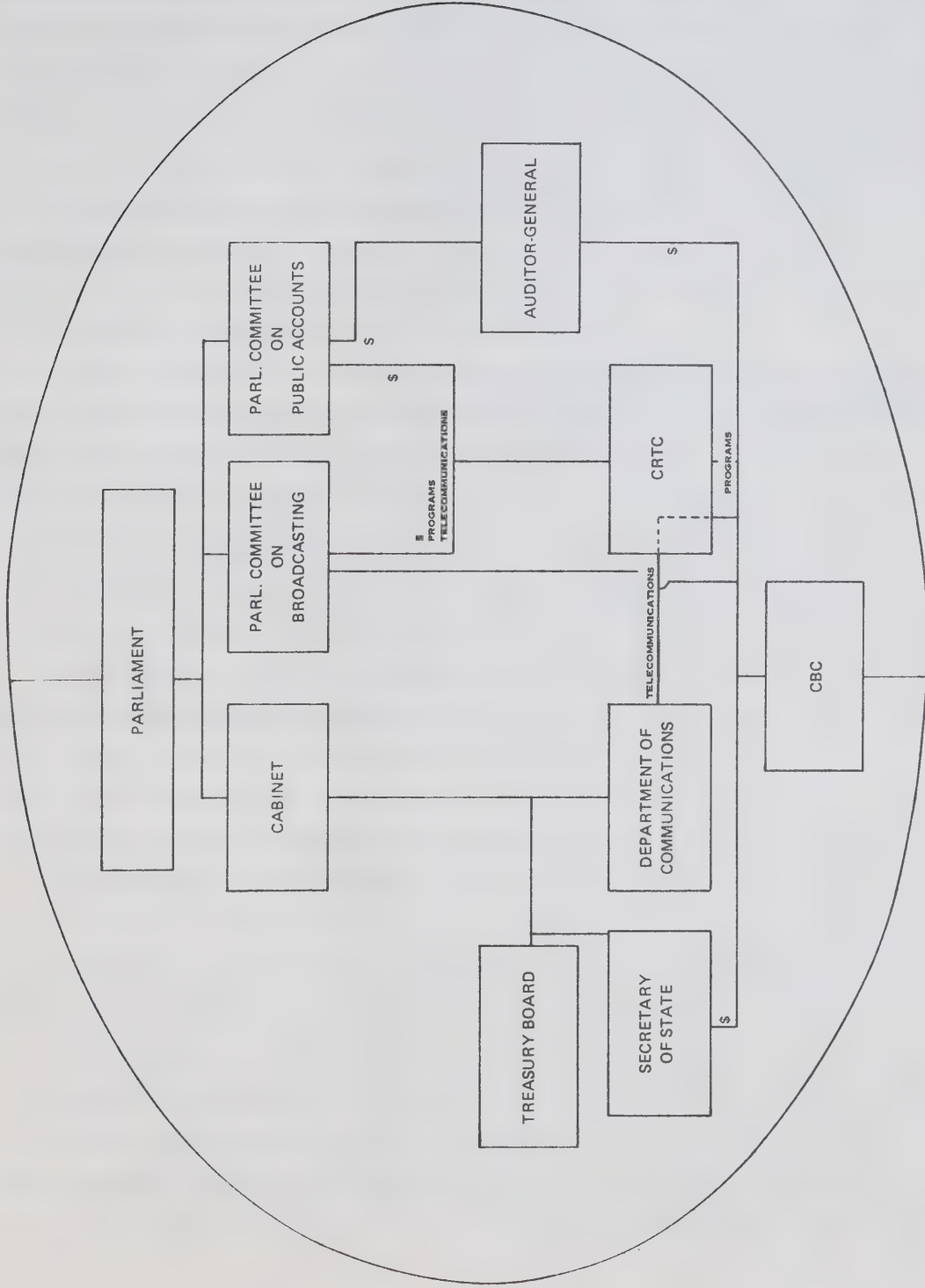
*See page v ff. for exchange of letters between the Prime Minister and the CRTC Chairman.

In addition to the Parliamentary Committee there are three agencies in the relation of the CBC to Parliament. First, the Secretary of State is the cabinet representative through whom federal cultural institutions, including the CBC, report to Parliament. He acts, to use his own word, as a sort of "conduit," and adheres to the accepted rules of political non-interference. But because of the lack of clear accountability procedures, he often finds it impossible to explain clearly the priorities of the CBC to Members of Parliament faced with a dismayingly increased budget for it. Second, the Minister of Communications, through whom the CRTC reports to Parliament, is the head of a department charged with responsibility for the technical development of broadcasting and telecommunications. But as some telecommunications (common carriers) are under provincial ownership or regulation, the Ministry has had to become increasingly involved with provincial claims in jurisdiction. Third, the CRTC, by virtue of the 1968 Broadcasting Act, has been set up by Parliament as an independent agency for supervising and regulating the whole national broadcasting system, including both private and public sectors. In 1976, it was also made responsible for regulating telephone rates and some other telecommunication functions of federally controlled carriers in Newfoundland, Ontario, Québec, British Columbia, and the Territories.

In 1974, the CRTC, in renewing the television licences of the CBC, proposed certain conditions regarding schedules and the commercializing of the service. Then the President and Board of the CBC resisted these conditions, and the matter was referred to a special committee consisting of the Secretary of State, the Minister of Communications, the President of the Treasury Board, the President of the CBC, and the Chairman of the CRTC. A working committee met only once, and the issue remained unresolved. Three years later, and subsequent to the forming of this Committee, the CBC issued the paper called "Touchstone for the CBC," which has been referred to several times in this report. It recognizes many of the CRTC recommendations in its 1974 decision, and indicates a willingness on the part of the CBC to co-operate with the other elements of Canada's communication policy.

The central place of broadcasting in cultural affairs is obvious, and the developing technologies in telecommunications and computers are becoming increasingly central to education, the arts, the public participation. Any division of authority, or a withholding of essential information from those responsible for directing policy,

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Public control over CBC

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makes for intolerable confusion. Hence, this Committee believes that, before any consideration is given to establishing a Royal Commission, the Government should direct its attention to administrative reorganization. Initiating such a move is the prerogative of the Prime Minister.

The relationship among the elements of the present administrative structure is awkward and unproductive, and what seems to be needed is an executive department of government, embracing all aspects and functions of cultural communication, to be a focal point for an integrated cultural policy. There should also be a closer study of how cultural agencies can be more directly involved, not only with the cultural activities themselves, but with the general public. The Committee also notes that it is precisely the present dividing of ministerial authority that is being perpetuated in Bill C-43 ("An Act Respecting Telecommunications in Canada," introduced for first reading on 22 March 1977).

2. Accountability of the CBC to the Public

The public opinion survey has shown that the English CBC audience is more critical of it than the French audience is of Radio-Canada. But even the most critical audience may fail to understand the conspiracy of silence, the omission of central public issues which do not fit the conventions of broadcasting. There is a paradox in the fact that a medium which, for most of North America, is almost entirely devoted to entertainment should also be so important to the public as a source of the information on which society depends. The CBC was established to provide something different from, and better than, this entertainment model.

The technology of television tends to rigidify the processing of news, and it also comes to take an active share in the actual making of it. Television interviews become news events in themselves, subjects of editorial comment in newspapers; and such interviews often take so much of the control and content of the interview out of the hands of the person being interviewed that he finds himself misrepresented in many different ways, some of them too subtle for protest to put right. The assimilating of programs of information to programs of entertainment, and the assumption that the TV audience has a right to be continuously entertained, produces many improvised and peripheral elements in the presenting of the most serious issues.

In 1974, the CBC announced certain objectives in relation to programs and priorities in the regions of Canada. Our analysis indicates that some improvement has occurred. Another major objective of that time has been achieved: the CBC has eliminated radio advertising altogether, and has reduced the negative effects of commercials on some programs of special interest. "Touchstone for the CBC" pledges the CBC to enable the regions to express themselves to the rest of the country, particularly with regard to the flow of information and culture, in both directions, between Québec and the rest of Canada. This document outlines in greater detail views put to this Committee in several meetings with senior CBC executives. It contains many specific suggestions for improvements in program content, but the major proposals can be summarized as follows:

1. English television to be "Canadianized."
2. French television to be broadened, to reflect better Canada as whole.
3. English and French television to interact in a number of ways.
4. Regional programming to be improved.
5. CBC journalism to be enriched and improved.
6. CBC radio to retain its special role in Canadian broadcasting.
7. Second television channels to be started within two years in both languages.
8. CBC to become "visibly open and responsive" by setting up public advisory committees, holding public forums, and seeking establishment of an independent broadcast complaints commission.
9. Sports to cause less prime time disruption of schedules.
10. More opportunity to be given to independent producers.
11. The system as a whole to aim at gaining 50 per cent of total Canadian viewing for Canadian programs.

These are encouraging signs indicating that the isolation of CBC from its public is beginning to break down.

The Committee believes that the CBC, having firmly committed itself to a plan of action, should be given the opportunity to demonstrate what it has done to all responsible and interested parties. The obvious time and place for this would be a CRTC public hearing in 1978 on renewal of licences expiring in 1979.

3. Conclusion

There seems to be a good deal of anxiety, both inside the CBC and outside it, about protecting the CBC in its present form. We believe that this feeling is out of touch with the reality of the situation now. It seems to spring from a fear that the CBC may lose its present degree of autonomy and be taken over as a spokesman for the government, or rather for the party in power in Ottawa. It seems to us that this danger is remote, and we have tried to show that the present status of the CBC, in which it has autonomy without true accountability, is a far more immediate danger, and one which threatens the continued existence of the CBC itself.

The entrenched position of the CBC, as a broadcasting institution protecting its own interests in a time of uncertainty, is one peculiar to Canada. Many countries with similar forms of public broadcasting are conducting or have conducted inquiries into problems of communications. Clearly, Canada, with its unique dependence on communication media, must give equally serious study to the role of electronic media in Canadian life. But, before establishing a body to carry out so formidable a study, we urge an examination of the present administrative structure, in the interests of the public as well as of Parliament. It might be ten years before a Royal Commission's recommendations could be incorporated in legislation, and something has to keep the machinery turning over during that time.

We hope and expect that the CBC, prior to the 1978 renewal hearing, will establish a policy for better achieving expressions of diversity and contributions to unity. The two goals sound contradictory, but our report has tried to show that they in fact are complementary, and both essential. At present the CBC is in practice two organizations, and there has been an almost total failure to create an integrated organization. All CBC employees should be made to feel, in as short a time as possible, that they are working for an organization which is both French and English. If carefully done, and with due regard for the principle that unity is the opposite of uniformity, such an integration should in turn make possible a far greater degree of decentralization than the CBC now has.

It is most unfortunate that the impact of a rapidly growing technology on the total communications system has coincided with so serious a questioning of the role of the CBC. Both factors must be seen against a background of social and political upheaval in Canada. It is the opinion of the Committee that setting up a body to inquire into the total situation at this time would be disruptive of the current role that the CBC must play as one of the most important sources of information for the Canadian public, information that it has to use in making choices regarding the immediate future of the country.

We therefore are unable to recommend the establishment of a Royal Commission at this time.

When the present issues in Canada are clarified, when the CBC has had a chance to show what it can do on its own initiative, when some firmer trends become apparent in technology, when Parliament has reconsidered its relation to the CBC and other cultural and communication agencies, a fuller inquiry will then be needed to provide a proper basis for future legislation.

APPENDIX ONE
CRTC ANNOUNCEMENTS

Ottawa, 14 March 1977

COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY INTO THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING SERVICE

The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission has determined that it is in the public interest to hold an inquiry into the manner in which the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation is fulfilling its mandate, particularly with respect to public affairs, news, and information programming.

The Commission has as a consequence established a Committee of Inquiry into the national broadcasting service. The Committee will be presided over by Harry J. Boyle, Chairman of the CRTC. The Chairman will call on the part-time members of the Commission and a number of other individual Canadians to assist him in the inquiry.

In embarking on this inquiry, the Commission considers itself duty-bound to safeguard three principles which lie at the heart of the Canadian broadcasting tradition and indeed of broadcasting in a free society. The first is the principle of freedom of expression, restricted only by specific legal requirements and prohibitions. Second, professional ethics and competence are paramount. Discrimination by reason of race, national origin, color, religion, sex, or political views has no place in broadcasting. And thirdly, the Commission reaffirms its commitment to the principle of public broadcasting in Canada.

The Committee of Inquiry will report periodically to the Commission, and will be asked to submit its final report to the Commission before 1 July 1977. The inquiry is being undertaken pursuant to the Commission's mandate under s.15 of the Broadcasting Act, "to regulate and supervise all aspects of the Canadian broadcasting system with a view to implementing the broadcasting policy enunciated in section 3 of the Act."....

The broadcasting policy for Canada represents the goals and values toward which the national broadcasting service must strive.

In this context, and in view of the time constraints, the Commission has determined that the Committee's mandate should be as follows:

1. The Committee will examine and take into consideration all representations from the public submitted in response to this announcement. This appeal to the public is based on the fact that the national broadcasting service in its entirety is owned and maintained by the people of Canada;
2. The Committee will conduct interviews with members of the CBC and of the public in order to gain a fuller understanding of how information and other programming is perceived by them, and actually carried out;
3. The Committee will undertake research on specific matters related to programming and scheduling, as well as on the historical relationship between the French-language and English-language services of the CBC;
4. The Committee may selectively analyze particular programs.

The public is hereby invited to submit in writing information and comment relevant to a proper assessment of the manner in which the CBC carries out its mandate. Any representations about specific programs that the public may wish to bring to the Committee's attention should be as factual as possible. The Committee would appreciate receiving letters by 15 April 1977, and they should be sent to the undersigned at 100 Metcalfe Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0N2.

Lise Ouimet, Acting Secretary General

Ottawa, 25 April 1977

YOUR OPINION, PLEASE

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation is owned and maintained by the people of Canada. Therefore, your assistance is sought by the CRTC Committee of Inquiry to determine how the CBC is carrying out its mandate, particularly with respect to public affairs, news, and information programming.

What is the CBC's mandate?

First, like all broadcasters in Canada, the CBC is required to:

1. provide programming which is varied and comprehensive and which provides reasonable, balanced opportunity for the expression of differing views on matters of public concern;
2. maintain responsibility for programs they broadcast but the right to freedom of expression and the right of persons to receive programs is unquestioned.

In addition, the CBC has specific policy objectives established by the Parliament of Canada, which are to:

- . provide a balanced service of information, enlightenment, and entertainment;
- . extend its service to all parts of Canada;
- . serve, in English and French, the special needs of geographic regions and actively contribute to the flow and exchange of cultural and regional information and entertainment; and contribute to the development of national unity and provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity.

Do you have any suggestions or comments on the mandate of the CBC, especially in relation to its public affairs, news, and information programming and on the way it is being carried out?

The Committee of Inquiry would appreciate any comments dealing with the present mandate of the CBC be as factual as possible.

In view of the Committee's 1 July 1977 reporting date, your letters should be sent by 10 May 1977 to the undersigned at 100 Metcalfe Street, Ottawa, Ontario. K1A 0N2.

Lise Ouimet, Secretary General

APPENDIX TWO

CBC--RADIO-CANADA DOCUMENTS SENT TO THE COMMITTEE*

CBC ENGLISH-LANGUAGE DOCUMENTS

"The Cost Efficiency of Spot Advertising on CBC-owned English-language TV Stations: Spring 1976," CBC Research, September 1976.

"CBC English-language Radio: The Size and Composition of its Audience 1968-1974," CBC Research, Toronto, January 1975, TOR/75/05.

"The 1976 Summer Schedule of the CBC English TV Network, an Assessment of Audience Performance," CBC Research, Toronto, September 1976, TOR/76/23.

"CBC-owned English-language TV Stations: An Analysis of 1976-77 Season Audiences in Key Time Periods," CBC Research, Toronto, January 1977, TOR/77/02.

"CBC-owned English-language TV Stations: An Analysis of Summer 1976 Audiences in Key Time Periods," CBC Research, Toronto, September 1976, TOR/76/22.

"The 1976-77 Fall-Winter Schedule of the CBC English TV Network: An Assessment of Audience Performance in the Fall 1976," CBC Research, Toronto, January 1977.

"The 1976-77 Fall-Winter Schedule of the CBC English TV Network: An Assessment of Audience Performance in Early Fall 1976," CBC Research, Toronto, November 1976, TOR/76/25.

"Audiences to CBC-Owned English and French-language Radio Stations: A Periodic Summary of Relevant Statistics and Trends, November 1974" (Data Source: BBM Survey Reports for November 1974 and November 1973), CBC Research, February 1975; July 1975 (Data Source: BBM Survey Reports for July 1975 and July 1973), CBC Research, September 1975; October 1975 (Data Source: BBM Survey Reports for October 1975 and November 1974), CBC Research, January 1976; March-April 1976 (Data Source: BBM Survey Reports for March-April 1976), CBC Research, June 1976.

* Document titles given in the original language, as sent.

"CBC-Owned English-language TV Stations in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver: An Analysis of their Audiences in Key Time Periods, Early Fall 1976," CBC Research, Toronto, November 1976, TOR/76/24.

"Patterns of Television Viewing in Canada: A Project Conducted for the President's Study of Television in the Seventies," Research Department, July 1973, TV/73/28.

"Audience Research Implications of a Proposal to Abandon CBC Call-letters," a Report to CBC Corporate Relations, CBC Research, Ottawa, March 1976, G/76/22.

"Canadian Programs in the 1975-76 Fall-Winter Schedule of the CBC English TV Network: An Assessment of Audience Performance in January 1976," CBC Research, Toronto, March 1976.

"The Availability and Appeal of Foreign-language Television to French-Speaking Montrealers," Research Department, Ottawa, January 1977, TV/77/02.

"The Size of the Audience to CBC-Owned English and French-language Stations: An Overview at Year-end 1976 with Indications of Trends over the Past Year," CBC Research, Ottawa, March 1977.

"What the Canadian Public Thinks of Television and of the TV Services Provided by CBC," a report to CBC Management, Research Department, February 1974, TV/74/15.

"Dimensions of Audience Response to Television Programs in Canada or What Canadian Viewers Expect from the Programs they Watch," Research Department, Ottawa, Toronto, Montreal, TOR/73/24, June 1973, amplified for wider distribution, January 1975.

"Can Blue Collars be 'Turned On', by CBC Radio?", a study of listening patterns and listener expectations in Thunder Bay, Ontario, CBC Research, Toronto, September 1975.

"Use of the Media by Prairie Farmers with Particular Reference to the Usefulness of CBC's 'Radio Noon'," CBC Research, Toronto, November 1975.

"American Programs in the 1975-76 Fall-Winter Schedule of the CBC English TV Network: An Assessment of Audience Performance in January 1976," CBC Research, Toronto, March 1976.

"Audiences to CBC-Owned English and French-language Radio Stations: A Periodic Summary of Relevant Statistics and Trends: July 1975," (Data Source: BBM Survey Reports for July 1975 and July 1973), CBC Research, September 1975; March-April 1976.

"The Montreal Olympics: 'Television Audiences '" CBC Research Department, Toronto, January 1977, TOR/76/21.

"Audience Panel Weekly Report": 8 October through November 1976; 12 November through 23 December 1976; 24 December through 10 March 1977; CBC Research Department, Toronto.

"'This Day': Viewer Reactions to Various Aspects of CBOT's Early Evening Hour of News and Comment," CBC Research, Ottawa, August 1976.

"Public Opinion on Wage and Price Controls," the results of a national survey, November-December 1975, CBC Research, Toronto, December 1975, TOR/75/28.

"Public Opinion on Wage and Price Controls," the results of a national survey conducted in April 1976 and comparison with the results of an earlier survey on the same subject in November 1975, CBC Research, Toronto, April 1976, TOR/76/08.

CBC FRENCH-LANGUAGE DOCUMENTS

"Auditoires des émissions du réseau français de télévision de Radio-Canada, début automne 1975," Service de la recherche, SR-75 SI-006.

"Auditoires des émissions du réseau français de télévision de Radio-Canada, hiver 1976, sondage BBM," Service de la recherche, SI-76-09.

"Auditoires des émissions du réseau français de télévision de Radio-Canada, février-mars 1976, sondage BBM," Service de la recherche, SI-76-12.

"Auditoires des émissions du réseau français de télévision de Radio-Canada, été 1976, sondage BBM," Service de la recherche, SI-76-21.

"Auditoires des émissions du réseau français de télévision de Radio-Canada, début automne 1976," Service des Recherches à la Division des Services français, novembre 1976.

"Auditoire des émissions du réseau français de télévision de Radio-Canada, automne 1976," Service des Recherches à la Division des Services français, décembre 1976.

"Auditoire des émissions du réseau français de télévision de Radio-Canada, février-mars 1977," Service des Recherches à la Division des Services français, avril 1977.

"Auditoire des émissions du réseau français de Radio-Canada," Montréal, février 1975, SRM-75-238.

"Evolution de l'écoute des francophones de la région d'Ottawa-Hull aux stations de radio et de télévision françaises et anglaises," Service des Recherches, février 1976.

"Auditoire du réseau français de la radio de Radio-Canada, un résumé de la statistique, automne-1975, printemps-1976, automne 1976," Service des Recherches à la Division des Services français, février 1977.

"Auditoire des émissions d'information réseau français de télévision de Radio-Canada, pour la saison 1975-76 et historique depuis la saison 1970-71," Service des Recherches, Montréal, mai 1976.

"Auditoire des stations du réseau français de télévision de Radio-Canada, automne 1972 à automne 1976," Service des Recherches à la Division des Services français, février 1977.

"Auditoire de la radio à Montréal," automne 1976, Service des Recherches à la Division des Services français, février 1977.

"Auditoire des émissions d'information réseau français de télévision de Radio-Canada, début automne 1976," Service des Recherches à la Division des Services français, novembre 1976.

"Analyse de l'auditoire des émissions sur film du Service du film et du Service jeunesse de Radio-Canada," Service des Recherches, source: BBM, novembre 1974, Montréal, 14 février 1975, MTL-75-02.

"Impact de la télédiffusion des Jeux de la XXIe Olympiade de Montréal 1976," Service des Recherches de la Division des Services français, février 1977.

"Perception des stations de radio à Québec," Service des Recherches, février 1975.

"Auditoire des émissions d'information réseau français de télévision de Radio-Canada, automne 1976," Service des Recherches à la Division des Services français mars 1977.

"Sondage permanent auprès de l'auditoire de la télévision, du 4 septembre 1976 au 28 janvier 1977," Service des Recherches à la Division des Services français.

"Préférence des jeunes en matière d'émissions de télévision à contenu scientifique," une étude faite par Sorécom Inc. pour le Service des Recherches, juillet 1976.

"Réactions de parents et d'enfants à l'émission-pilote 'Bonjour, Comment mangez-

vous?', " une étude faite par Sorécom Inc. pour le Service des Recherches, mars 1977.

"Compte-rendu des rencontres tenues pour la Société Radio-Canada en rapport avec l'émission 'Le pour et le contre', " étude faite par le Centre de sondage de l'Université de Montréal, août 1976.

"Document de référence sur les sondages d'opinion politique," compte-rendu et analyses de sondages d'opinion politique, Service des Recherches à la Division des Services français, octobre 1976.

"Document complémentaire au rapport sur les sondages d'opinion politique," Services des Recherches, juillet 1975, MTL-75-07.

"Les sondages d'opinion politique et leur utilisation par les mass média," Services des Recherches, juillet 1975, MTL-75-06.

Reporters' abstracts (radio and television)

Radio

Weekly contributions: reporter (Québec), 30/08/76--24/04/77.

Television

Weekly contributions: reporter (Montréal), 09/76--24/04/77; regional reporter (correspondent), 09/76--24/04/77; reporter-correspondent (foreign, etc.), 09/76--24/04/77.

Radio-television

Quarterly abstract, correspondents: 22/06/75--27/03/77.

Annual abstract, correspondents: 01/04/75--27/04/77.

Program abstracts:

Television

<u>Program</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Type</u>
"Le 60"	21/09/76--05/04/77	weekly
"Télescopie"	03/10/76--01/05/77	weekly
"Partout"	18/09/76--16/04/77	weekly
"Dossier"	03/09/76, 07/02, 14/02, 21/02/77, 01/03, 07/03/77	weekly
"Le pour et le contre"	24/09/76--25/03/77	twice monthly
"Documents"	14/11/76--03/04/77	monthly
"Ce soir"	07/09/76--02/05/77	daily
"Consommateurs avertis"	29/09/76--06/04/77	weekly

Television and radio

Specials	10/09/76--18/04/77
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Radio:

<u>Program</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Type</u>
"Présent international"	05/09/76--01/05/77	weekly
"La Bourse et la vie"	18/09/76--16/04/77	weekly
"A la une"	04/09/76--01/01/77	weekly
"Aux vingt heures"	01/09/76--20/04/77	daily

"Commentaires"	01/09/76--20/04/77	daily
"Présent à l'écoute"	01/09/76--20/04/77	daily
"Présent Métro"	01/09/76--20/04/77	daily
"Présent national"	01/09/76--20/04/77	daily
"Présent Québec"	01/09/76--20/04/77	daily
"Au rythme du monde"	20/09/76--02/05/77	daily

Other French-language Documents

Convention collective (division du Québec) entre la Société Radio-Canada et l'Association des réalisateurs, 1er juillet 1974 - 30 juin 1976, 75p.

Convention collective entre la Société Radio-Canada et le Syndicat général du cinéma et de la télévision (section Radio-Canada), 28 juillet 1976 - 30 novembre 1977, 41p.

Convention collective entre la Société Radio-Canada et l'Association des réalisateurs de la radio, 1er octobre 1974 - - 30 septembre 1976, 24p.

Liste des 24 cours et séminaire offerts par le Centre de formation professionnelle des journalistes, 6p. (Yves-Benoît Morin). Annexe: "Séminaire de Montréal" 4p.

Société Radio-Canada, Centre de formation professionnelle des journalistes.

Fiches d'évaluation des candidats, 10p.

Société Radio-Canada, Centre de formation professionnelle des journalistes.

"Exposé schématique du processus de recrutement et de formation des journalistes du service des nouvelles de Radio-Canada" par le superviseur du Centre M. Yves-Benoît Morin, 19 mai 1977, 3p.

Société Radio-Canada, Centre de formation professionnelle des journalistes, "Le module de formation du service de l'information de Radio-Canada," par le chef du module de formation Michel Massé, 3p.

Société Radio-Canada Centre de formation professionnelle des journalistes, "Stage pilote de formation professionnelle d'un groupe de journalistes de postes de bases," Mars 1977 (à Montréal), (Yves-Benoît Morin): Liste des animateurs, 1p, Introduction, par Y-B Morin, 3p, Résumé des activités du stage; par Y-B Morin. Centre de formation professionnelle des journalistes, "Stage d'apprentissage et de sélection des candidats à la relève d'été au service de l'information," juin 1976, par Y-B Morin, 9p.

Rapport mensuel d'évaluation; semaine du 24 au 30 janvier 1977, inclue consensus des journaux (Le Devoir, The Gazette, Globe & Mail, Montréal Star, et La Presse) (relevé des événements jugés prioritaires aux niveaux: Canada, Québec, fédéral-

provincial, inter-provincial); relevé des éditoriaux, relevé des nouvelles à Radio-Canada, à la radio, TV à quelles heures, les sujets et la place dans le bulletin, aussi pour chaque bulletin un résumé de chaque item, leur durée et le reporter; Affaires publiques (radio et TV), relevé des sujets et des participants.

Rapport mensuel d'évaluation, semaine du 21 au 27 février 1977.

Rapport mensuel d'évaluation, semaine du 21 au 27 mars 1977.

Rapport mensuel d'évaluation, semaine du 4 au 10 avril 1977.

"Le contrôle de l'information à Radio-Canada," réflexions du Directeur du Service d'information sur le sujet, 10p.

Définition de poste de

--responsable national des affectations, 1p.

--chef de pupitre, 29 juillet 1975, 1p.

--journaliste, 1p.

--chef de pupitre (régional), 1p.

--chef de pupitre (national), 1p.

--commis aux dépêches, 1p.

--auxiliaire de rédaction -- adjoint à la documentation et à l'affectation, 1p.

--responsable national adjoint des affectations, 1p.

--responsable national adjoint des affectations, 1p.

--responsable régional des affectations, 1p.

Le budget des programmes de la Société Radio-Canada (in a letter to the Committee).

"Program Policies/Politiques des programmes," April 1977.

"People and Places/Les gens et les lieux," January 1977.

"The CBC Mandate/Le mandat de Radio-Canada," April 1977.

Documents on extension of service (computer print-outs), 1968 to 1977.

APPENDIX THREE
RESEARCH REPORTS PREPARED FOR THE COMMITTEE*

It is planned to publish these research reports in English and French, as appendixes to this report, in the near future.

- Balcon, David. "CBC TV: Programming and Audience, the English Canadian Service."
- Baril, Paul-André. "Etude de la critique de la télévision dans la presse écrite"
- BIRO Inc. "Does Canada need a Royal Commission in Broadcasting?"
- Cadieux, Thomas. "TV Images: A Look at Criticism."
- CROP, Inc. "Perception des Canadiens sur l'information à Radio-Canada."
- de la Garde, Roger. "Les journalistes montréalais de la presse électronique."
- Fontaine, Fernand. "The Foundations of Freedom and their Normative Implications for Information in Broadcasting."
- Fournier, Jean-Pierre. "Les relations entre les réseaux anglais et français de Radio-Canada."
- Gamache, Normand. "Analyse de la programmation et du contenu canadien."
- Godbout, François. "Analyse clinique des plaintes spécifiques formulées par le public sur la programmation de la Société Radio-Canada."
- Horvath, John. "CBC Accelerated Coverage Plan."
- Jetchick, S. "Report on Correspondence Received by the Public in Light of the Inquiry into the National Broadcasting Service."
- Kretz, Fernande. "CBC Controversial Program Policies and their Theoretical Underpinnings."
- Osler, Andrew. "No One is Listening: Media Voices from the Regions of Canada."
- Pollard, George. "Social Control Analysis."
- Siegel, Arthur. "A Content Analysis, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation: Similarities and Differences in French and English News."
- Singer, Benjamin D. "Content Analysis."
- Solberg, Janet. "CBC Public Complaints and Practices."

*Reports are cited in the language in which they were prepared.

Weir, Nigel, Hothi, Jit, and Bondar, James. "CBC in the Information Flow."
Wilson, Mary. "Cartography of Criticism: Institutions."
Young, William A. "CBC Promise of Performance."

APPENDIX FOUR
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHIES
MEDIA CRITICISM

An important aspect in evaluating broadcasting is informed criticism. Some indication has been given of the limitations of content analysis. But between the purely academic approach and the newspaper criticisms, there has not developed a body of criticism of broadcasting comparable to literary, art, or cinema criticism. The Committee would encourage such development.

The following bibliography gives a view of some of the work done in the field for those who wish to pursue studies in this area and perhaps help to develop media criticism in this country.

A Note on Content Analysis

In essence, content analysis is the employment of any consistent technique for assessing in a scientific way the content of any communication process or structure, so that descriptive or analytical statements or inferences may be made.

The content to be analysed may be as broad as an entire culture, or as narrow as the closing of an eyelid (in analysis of body language). The techniques of analysis have been applied to letters, suicide notes, psychiatric interactions, group processes, movies, newscasts, magazines stories, printed and broadcast news, folktales, responses to open-ended questions, and so on.

There are three classes of question posed. First, what is the content? (example, does "X" exist, as people say? Some researchers, for example those hired by a mass medium doing an inventory of its own product, seek to answer only this question). Second, what can be inferred about the authors (be they a culture, a political group, or a person), about their values, their motives and purposes, conscious or unconscious? Third, what effect does the content have on others?

In analyzing the mass media the analyst must begin by specifying: he may examine all of the media in a culture, country, province, or city; or may focus on women's magazines, AM radio stations in one province or city, or any other level and scope, depending on what his purpose is. Much depends on the information that is available to the researcher. He may, if he has the data, compare the treatment accorded to a public figure or public issue across several media, or, if his data base is narrower, he may compare the treatment given to two public figures or issues in the same medium, or even within a single outlet.

The research rationale tells the analyst what is to be examined and specifies what is to be noted and how it is to be done. This may range from analysis of punctuation marks, words, phrases, or sentences to the broadest themes. Reliability of the analysis decreases as the analyst's decisions on meaning become paramount; alternatively, where the criteria become more manifest, as in the mere counting of words, the creation of validity becomes more contentious.

The unit of analysis also may vary: one may count words in order to establish a theme or underlying pattern or one may count themes. Furthermore, the unit of analysis may not be the presence of something, but its absence. This is so important a factor that a science called "pauseology" has arisen within psychology, devoted to measuring verbal pauses for underlying meaning. (The English playwright Pinter has for two decades puzzled audiences and critics by his use of unconventional pauses imposed on conventional conversation to suggest unspoken meanings.)

Multi-sensory media such as television provide the most complex problems of analysis because of the interactions between visual, auditory, and verbal content. To establish bias in presentation of news, for example, one might have to consider kinds of events and symbols; the association of certain kinds of events with an impending event or the existence of a given régime (for instance, a steady diet of bad news, or news embarrassing to a government in power before an election); contiguity of certain symbols with others, for an association effect; or emphasis given by location of items in a broadcast by

length or the use of what is called paracommunications (for example, using the music of "Z" as background in association with the picture of public figures).

This association of factors which are not relevant when considered in isolation is often difficult to judge except through the perceptions of an audience. These associations may be established through an enormous range of manipulations of words, sentences, phrases, items, stories, themes, societies or cultures, contexts, juxtapositions or contiguities, visuals, retouchings, synthesizing, cropping, selections, intonations, pitch, visual punctuations to convey belief, disbelief, sarcasm, and so on and on.

Pioneering work in this field was done by Harold Lasswell, in a 1928 study of mass media during the First World War. Since then more refined methods have been developed to assess biased treatment of minority groups, biased or stereotyped images of women and political bias. In general, however, it has to be admitted that the opportunities to manipulate events have more than kept pace with our understanding of the subtleties of news bias and our development of techniques to describe it.

Within a few years of the introduction of television, sociologists demonstrated its ability to distort news events, but it still presents a challenge to researchers because it is expected by its audience to be objective. What McLuhan calls the unified sensorium--all senses employed together--generates a truth value that cannot be matched by other media.

In fact, though recognition of the difficulties has increased, the actual techniques of content analysis have not greatly changed since almost half a century ago when researchers undertook content analysis of Hollywood films according to various categories of content. Even recent studies, such as those of the US Kerner Commission on the role of the mass media in the riots in American cities during the 1960s, of the US Surgeon-General's inquiry in the early 1970s into television and behavior, and the LaMarsh Commission's investigation of violence in the communications industry, have depended upon

category systems which indicate that the state of the art of content analysis has changed very little.

In 1956 the Fowler Report on Canadian broadcasting warned that the resources of social science in content analysis are limited, and there should be clear understanding of the scope of the questions which can be answered by such studies. That statement remains true today.

While there are limitations inherent in content analysis carried out under the best of conditions and with the maximum possible data, we must caution that even more qualifications are to be expressed with respect to the short-term study limited to incomplete data.

A. A Selected Bibliography on Mass Media Bias

The following bibliography is drawn from those journals which have published the most papers dealing with media bias and cognate issues. In addition to providing basic source materials, it is intended to typify the kinds of issues covered rather than to be exhaustive.

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C. The Television Product

This bibliography is a compilation of some 150 articles and texts by 90 different writers. It is divided into eight sections:

- .critique: mostly articles about the function of television criticism, plus two detailed overviews of existing critical literature
- .cultural context: television's role in society, texts on television as a popular art and on how television is a reflexion of its cultural and social environment
- . content and form: detailed analysis of television programs and series including studies of program types
- .production techniques: processes of television production and structural elements of news and drama programming
- .business of television: the operational constraints governing television, regulatory, economic, geographic, and demographic
- and three parallel critical disciplines: literary criticism, film criticism, and forms of representation in the visual arts.

This bibliography does not include sociological research or philosophical speculation concerning television as a medium of mass communication, nor statistical studies into the effects of television on its audience.

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